The Pashto Alphabet

Name	Indep.	Initial	Medial	Final	Translit.
alif	ا	ا	ـا	ـا	a, ā, i, u, o
be	ب	بـ	ـبـ	ـب	b
pe	پ	پـ	ـپـ	ـپ	p
te	ت	تـ	ـتـ	ـت	t
ṭe	ټ	ټـ	ـټـ	ـټ	ṭ
se	ث	ثـ	ـثـ	ـث	s
ǰim	ج	جـ	ـجـ	ـج	ǰ
če	چ	چـ	ـچـ	ـچ	č
ʦe	څ	څـ	ـڅـ	ـڅ	ʦ
ʣe	ځ	ځـ	ـڅـ	ـځ	ʣ
he, ha-i hotti	ح	حـ	ـحـ	ـح	h
xe	خ	خـ	ـخـ	ـخ	x
dal	د	د	ـد	ـد	d
ḍal	ډ	ډ	ـډ	ـډ	ḍ
zal	ذ	ذ	ـذ	ـذ	z
re	ر	ر	ـر	ـر	r
ṛe	ړ	ړ	ـړ	ـړ	ṛ
ze	ز	ز	ـز	ـز	z
že	ژ	ژ	ـژ	ـژ	ž
ẓe	ږ	ږ	ـږ	ـږ	ẓ

Name	Indep.	Initial	Medial	Final	Translit.
sin	س	سـ	ـسـ	ـس	s
šin	ش	شـ	ـشـ	ـش	š
ǧin	ښ	ښـ	ـښـ	ـښ	ǧ
sad	ص	صـ	ـصـ	ـص	s
zad	ض	ضـ	ـضـ	ـض	z
ta	ط	طـ	ـطـ	ـط	t
za	ظ	ظـ	ـظـ	ـظ	z
ayn	ع	عـ	ـعـ	ـع	—
gayn	غ	غـ	ـغـ	ـغ	g
fe	ف	فـ	ـفـ	ـف	f
kaf	ق	قـ	ـقـ	ـق	k
kaf	ک	کـ	ـکـ	ـک	k
gaf	گ	گـ	ـگـ	ـگ	g
lam	ل	لـ	ـلـ	ـل	l
mim	م	مـ	ـمـ	ـم	m
nun	ن	نـ	ـنـ	ـن	n
ṇun	ڼ	ڼـ	ـڼـ	ـڼ	ṇ
vav	و	و	ـو	ـو	v, u, o
ha, ha-i havvaz	ه	هـ	ـهـ	ـه	h, a, ə
ya-i maaruf	ی	یـ	ـیـ	ـی	y, i
ya-i majhul	ې	ېـ	ـېـ	ـې	e
ya-i tāanis	ے	—	—	ـے	əy

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te	ټ	ټـ	ـټـ	ـټ	ṭ
ṭe	ټ	ټـ	ـټـ	ـټ	ṭ
se	ث	ثـ	ـثـ	ـث	s
jim	ج	جـ	ـجـ	ـج	j
če	چ	چـ	ـچـ	ـچ	č
ṯse	څ	څـ	ـڅـ	ـڅ	ṯs
dze	ځ	ځـ	ـځـ	ـځ	dz
he, ha-i hotti	ح	حـ	ـحـ	ـح	h
xe	خ	خـ	ـخـ	ـخ	x
dal	د	د	ـد	ـد	d
ḍal	ډ	ډ	ـډ	ـډ	ḍ
zal	ذ	ذ	ـذ	ـذ	z
re	ر	ر	ـر	ـر	r
ṛe	ړ	ړ	ـړ	ـړ	ṛ
ze	ز	ز	ـز	ـز	z
že	ژ	ژ	ـژ	ـژ	ž
ẓe	ږ	ږ	ـږ	ـږ	ẓ

Name	Indep.	Initial	Medial	Final	Translit.
sin	س	سـ	ـسـ	ـس	s
šin	ش	شـ	ـشـ	ـش	š
ǰin	ښ	ښـ	ـښـ	ـښ	ǰ
sad	ص	صـ	ـصـ	ـص	s
zad	ض	ضـ	ـضـ	ـض	z
ta	ط	طـ	ـطـ	ـط	t
za	ظ	ظـ	ـظـ	ـظ	z
ayn	ع	عـ	ـعـ	ـع	‘
gayn	غ	غـ	ـغـ	ـغ	g
fe	ف	فـ	ـفـ	ـف	f
kaf	ق	قـ	ـقـ	ـق	k
kaf	ک	کـ	ـکـ	ـک	k
gaf	ګ	ګـ	ـګـ	ـګ	g
lam	ل	لـ	ـلـ	ـل	l
mim	م	مـ	ـمـ	ـم	m
nun	ن	نـ	ـنـ	ـن	n
ṇun	ڼ	ڼـ	ـڼـ	ـڼ	ṇ
vav	و	و	ـو	ـو	v, u, o
ha, ha-i havvaz	ه	هـ	ـهـ	ـه	h, a, ə
ya-i maaruf	ی	یـ	ـیـ	ـی	y, i
ya-i maǰhul	ې	ېـ	ـېـ	ـې	e
ya-i tāānis	ے	—	—	ـے	əy

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ṭe	ټ	ټـ	ـټـ	ـټ	ṭ
se	ث	ثـ	ـثـ	ـث	s
ǰim	ج	جـ	ـجـ	ـج	ǰ
če	چ	چـ	ـچـ	ـچ	č
ʦe	څ	څـ	ـڅـ	ـڅ	ʦ
ʣe	ځ	ځـ	ـځـ	ـځ	ʣ
he, ha-i hotti	ح	حـ	ـحـ	ـح	h
xe	خ	خـ	ـخـ	ـخ	x
dal	د	د	ـد	ـد	d
ḍal	ډ	ډ	ـډ	ـډ	ḍ
zal	ذ	ذ	ـذ	ـذ	z
re	ر	ر	ـر	ـر	r
ṛe	ړ	ړ	ـړ	ـړ	ṛ, ă
ze	ز	ز	ـز	ـز	z
že	ژ	ژ	ـژ	ـژ	ž
ǯe	ږ	ږ	ـږ	ـږ	ǯ

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ǰin	ښ	ښـ	ـښـ	ـښ	ǰ
sad	ص	صـ	ـصـ	ـص	s
zad	ض	ضـ	ـضـ	ـض	z
ta	ط	طـ	ـطـ	ـط	t
za	ظ	ظـ	ـظـ	ـظ	z
ayn	ع	عـ	ـعـ	ـع	—
gayn	غ	غـ	ـغـ	ـغ	g
fe	ف	فـ	ـفـ	ـف	f
kaf	ق	قـ	ـقـ	ـق	k
kaf	ک	کـ	ـکـ	ـک	k
gaf	گ	گـ	ـگـ	ـگ	g
lam	ل	لـ	ـلـ	ـل	l
mim	م	مـ	ـمـ	ـم	m
nun	ن	نـ	ـنـ	ـن	n
ṇun	ڼ	ڼـ	ـڼـ	ـڼ	ṇ
vav	و	و	ـو	ـو	v, u, o
ha, ha-i havvaz	ه	هـ	ـهـ	ـه	h, a, ə
ya-i maaruf	ی	یـ	ـیـ	ـی	y, i
ya-i maǰhul	ې	ېـ	ـېـ	ـې	e
ya-i tâanis	ۍ	ـ	ـ	ـۍ	əy

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te	ت	تـ	ـتـ	ـت	t
ṭe	ټ	ټـ	ـټـ	ـټ	ṭ
se	ث	ثـ	ـثـ	ـث	s
ǰim	ج	جـ	ـجـ	ـج	ǰ
če	چ	چـ	ـچـ	ـچ	č
ʦe	څ	څـ	ـڅـ	ـڅ	ʦ
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he, ha-i hotti	ح	حـ	ـحـ	ـح	h
xe	خ	خـ	ـخـ	ـخ	x
dal	د	د	ـد	ـد	d
ḍal	ډ	ډ	ـډ	ـډ	ḍ
zal	ذ	ذ	ـذ	ـذ	z
re	ر	ر	ـر	ـر	r
ṛe	ړ	ړ	ـړ	ـړ	ṛ
ze	ز	ز	ـز	ـز	z
že	ژ	ژ	ـژ	ـژ	ž
ǧe	ږ	ږ	ـږ	ـږ	ǧ

Name	Indep.	Initial	Medial	Final	Translit.
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zad	ض	ضـ	ـضـ	ـض	z
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za	ظ	ظـ	ـظـ	ـظ	z
ayn	ع	عـ	ـعـ	ـع	ʿ
gayn	غ	غـ	ـغـ	ـغ	g
fe	ف	فـ	ـفـ	ـف	f
kaf	ق	قـ	ـقـ	ـق	k
kaf	ک	کـ	ـکـ	ـک	k
gaf	ګ	ګـ	ـګـ	ـګ	g
lam	ل	لـ	ـلـ	ـل	l
mim	م	مـ	ـمـ	ـم	m
nun	ن	نـ	ـنـ	ـن	n
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vav	و	و	ـو	ـو	v, u, o
ha, ha-i havvaz	ه	هـ	ـهـ	ـه	h, a, ə
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ya-i maǰhul	ې	ېـ	ـېـ	ـې	e
ya-i tāanis	ے	ـے	ـے	ـے	əy

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ṭe	ټ	ټـ	ـټـ	ـټ	ṭ
se	ث	ثـ	ـثـ	ـث	s
jim	ج	جـ	ـجـ	ـج	j
če	چ	چـ	ـچـ	ـچ	č
ʦe	څ	څـ	ـڅـ	ـڅ	ʦ
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he, ha-i hotti	ح	حـ	ـحـ	ـح	h
xe	خ	خـ	ـخـ	ـخ	x
dal	د	د	ـد	ـد	d
ḍal	ډ	ډ	ـډ	ـډ	ḍ
zal	ذ	ذ	ـذ	ـذ	z
re	ر	ر	ـر	ـر	r
ṛe	ړ	ړ	ـړ	ـړ	ṛ
ze	ز	ز	ـز	ـز	z
že	ژ	ژ	ـژ	ـژ	ž
ẓe	ږ	ږ	ـږ	ـږ	ẓ

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ṣin	ښ	ښـ	ـښـ	ـښ	ṣ
sad	ص	صـ	ـصـ	ـص	s
zad	ض	ضـ	ـضـ	ـض	z
ta	ط	طـ	ـطـ	ـط	t
za	ظ	ظـ	ـظـ	ـظ	z
ayn	ع	عـ	ـعـ	ـع	—
gayn	غ	غـ	ـغـ	ـغ	g
fe	ف	فـ	ـفـ	ـف	f
kaf	ق	قـ	ـقـ	ـق	k
kaf	ک	کـ	ـکـ	ـک	k
gaf	گ	گـ	ـگـ	ـگ	g
lam	ل	لـ	ـلـ	ـل	l
mim	م	مـ	ـمـ	ـم	m
nun	ن	نـ	ـنـ	ـن	n
ṇun	ڼ	ڼـ	ـڼـ	ـڼ	ṇ
vav	و	و	ـو	ـو	v, u, o
ha, ha-i havvaz	ه	هـ	ـهـ	ـه	h, a, ə
ya-i maaruf	ی	یـ	ـیـ	ـی	y, i
ya-i maǰhul	ې	ېـ	ـېـ	ـې	e
ya-i tāanis	ے	—	—	ـے	əy

Survey

from Journal of the American Oriental Society Vol 103, No. 2, April-June 198

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Four Varieties of Pashto

Four varieties of Pashto are identified by the pronunciation of the spirant in the name of the language. The regional distribution of the varieties is discussed, followed by evidence and speculation concerning the chronology of phonetic and phonological changes that led to the present situation.

Pashto, an Iranian language spoken in Afghanistan and ...istan, can be divided into four varieties on the basis of ...pronunciation of the second consonant in the name of ...language.[1] The four varieties are Pəṣto, spoken around ...dahar; Pəšto, spoken around Quetta; Pəçto, spoken in ...ortheast part of the Pashto area, and Paxto, spoken ...d Peshawar (see Figure 1).[2]

...ly in the *ş* area is there an eight-member contrastive set ...ş ẓ š ž k g x γ/, corresponding to the orthography.[3] In the ...areas, *g* corresponds to Kandahar *ẓ*, and various other ...types correspond to Kandahar *ş*, as shown below.

Kandahar	Pəṣto	ş ẓ š ž k g x γ
Quetta	Pəšto	š ž š ž k g x γ
NE	Pəçto	ç g š ž k g x γ
Peshawar	Paxto	x g š ž k g x γ

...one part of the *ç* area, Wardak Province, a palatal *j* ...sponds to Pəṣto *ẓ*, but most speakers of Pəçto use *g*. In ...Pəšto and Paxto areas there are only six members in this ...of oppositions.

...many other features—lexical, syntactic, morphological, ...phonological—vary widely in Pashto, and few of their ...ates coincide. For the purposes of this paper, however, ...focus only on the four named varieties. I am extremely ...ful to Justice Mohamad Anwar Wardak and Engineer ...ai for helping me with the Pashto language in 1966 and ...

...Paxto, there is no contrast between [a] and [ə]. This ...ast survives, though with low functional load, in the ... varieties.

...erbert Penzl, *A Grammar of Pashto* (Washington: ...rican Council of Learned Societies, 1955), pp. 9–10.

2. Geiger gives *ş* as the reflex of Avestan *sr*, *rs*, *rš*, and the *š* corresponding to PIE **kš*.[4] The intervocalic allophone of *ş*, *ẓ*, achieved phonemic status through final vowel loss, as in *ẓwaẓ* 'ear' <AV. *gaoša*. Geiger notes (p. 209) only two varieties of the language, "Paštō" and "Paxtō".

Darmesteter also describes only two varieties, "Pushtō" and "Pukhtū".[5] Despite his investigation of Pashto in areas where the opposition *š:ş* is phonemic, he appears not to have heard the difference between the initial consonants of *šta* 'night' and *şa* 'good', and he incorrectly states that 'night' is **xta* in the north. He may have been misled by the orthography, since a grapheme to represent *ş* separately from *š* was not finally standardized until the middle of this century.[6] In a discussion of the relative antiquity of the two varieties he described, Darmesteter decides that "Pukhtō" must be a later development, *kh* being a "fausse pronunciation" of *sh*.[7]

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[4] Wilhelm Geiger, Die Sprache der Afghānen, das Paštō, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I.2.v (Strassburg: Trübner, 1895), p. 206.

[5] James Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1888), pp. xxxv ff.

[6] Penzl, p. 6. It is also possible that Darmesteter's informants led him astray, if they were from outside the Pəṣto area. Speakers of Pəçto or Paxto trying to imitate speakers of Pəṣto (the prestige dialect in Afghanistan) usually replace *x* with *š*.

[7] See also George Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, X (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1921 [reprinted 1968]). Grierson distinguished only two varieties, northeastern and southwestern. D. A. Shafeev, "A Short Grammatical Outline of Pashto," *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 30.3 (1964), continued the tradition.

3. The development of retroflex stops and spirants in Pashto is a fascinating topic. All varieties include, in addition to the sounds discussed above, /ʈ/, /ɖ/, /ɽ/, and /ɳ/. All of these occur initially, medially, and finally, in contrast to the more limited privileges of occurrence of retroflex stops, liquids, and nasals in Indic languages. The liquid, /ɽ/, appears to have developed from Av. *rt* and *rd*, and the nasal from *rn*. It is very difficult to find etyma for words containing /ʈ/ or /ɖ/; most may be borrowed from Indic (specifically Lahnda).[8] What is of interest now is the development of the four varieties of Pashto described above.

The Pəšto and Paxto areas are small and peripheral. If it could be demonstrated that they share some archaic features, then the other areas could be said to have innovated the *š* : *x*/*ç* contrast. No such evidence appears to exist. The Pəšto area has been strongly influenced by the politically dominant Baluchi language,[9] and Paxto by Urdu (Penzl, p. 8). In fact, Pəšto, spoken in the largest area, was probably the most isolated, since the trade routes largely bypassed it.[10] The smaller areas lay across important routes into and out of Afghanistan.

It therefore seems likely that Pəšto is the most conservative variety. Given the extreme phonetic and phonological changes in Pashto, and the nomadic habits of its speakers, it is impossible to tell whether the change *ş* > *ç* is [illegible] than the reverse, since it amounts only to a phone[illegible] However, the merger of *ẓ* and *g* is much more [illegible] split of *g*, there being no evident conditioning [illegible] such a split.

The most likely sequence of events, then, is that [illegible] Avestan or a similar Old Iranian language) [illegible] "Proto-Pashto" **/ş/, which was [ş] after /x/ and [illegible] where. Loss of preconsonantal *x* led to the split of [illegible] the northeast, *ş* became a palatal spirant *ç*, [illegible] sequently merged with *x* in Paxto only. The voiced [illegible] of the pair, *ẓ*, underwent a similar shift in point of [illegible] to *ǰ*, which survives in Wardaki Pashto. Why this [illegible] merged with *g* in Paxto and other dialects of Pash[illegible] of following the voiceless pattern and merging with [illegible] remain for the moment an open question.[11] In [illegible] (Baluchistan), there are two possibilities: (a) *ş* and [illegible] split but were always pronounced *š*, or (b) they [illegible] the other varieties, after the loss of *x*-, and subs[illegible] merged. It seems slightly more likely that they are [illegible] since if they had *ẓ* might well have gone the way it did [illegible] northern varieties rather than merging with *ž*.

MICHAEL M. T. H[illegible]
UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

[8] Michael M. T. Henderson, "Some 'Indic' Features in Pashto," *Wisconsin Papers in Linguistics* 1 (1970), pp. 88–101; Georg Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan* (Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, 1926, Serie C1 – 2).

[9] Georg Morgenstierne, "Archaisms and Innovations in Pashto Morphology," *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 12 (1940), pp. 88–114.

[10] Richard S. Newell, *The Politics of Afghanistan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), pp. 10–11.

[11] In some German dialects, [ç] has changed to [ʃ], [illegible] Spanish [s] changed to a velar or uvular spirant.

[12] Possibly, /g/ was felt to be a more "native" [illegible] than /γ/. The latter, though already present in Pash[illegible] made considerably more frequent (and perhaps raised [illegible] phonemic status, as English [v] was under the influ[illegible] French) with the introduction of Arabic loans. But [illegible] pure speculation.

IRAN
U.S.S.R.
Herat
AFGHANISTAN
Kandahar
S
Quetta
Z
Wardak
G
KABUL
X
Peshawar
PAKISTAN
INDIA
CHINA

Figure 1

Kashmiri and Other Dardic Languages - by Braj B. Kachru
in Current Trends in Linguistics, Vol 5. p. 284

also articles on 'Panjabi', 'Nepali and Pahari', 'Tibeto-Burman Languages of South Asia'
'Sociolinguistics in South Asia', 'General Linguistics in South Asia'
'Linguistic Studies in Pakistan'

Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum 1989. Herausgegeben von Rüdiger Schmitt. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

4.2.1 Pashto

by Prods O. Skjærvø, New York*

4.2.1.1 *Introduction*[1]

4.2.1.1.1 Location

Pashto is spoken in Afghanistan to the southeast of a line extending from Jalalabad via Sabzawar and Kandahar to Farah and Herat, by displaced population groups (nāqelīn) in pockets to the west and north of this area (e.g. Bactria), in northwestern Pakistan (North West Frontier Province), in an area extending south from Dir and Swat, in some parts of Panjab, and in Pakistani Baluchistan down to Quetta (LSI X, 5-6; Kieffer, Langues, 1983, 3).

In Afghanistan, Pashto became official language beside Dari in 1936 and, according to the latest statistics and estimates from before the Soviet occupation in 1979, was the mother tongue of ca. 50% of the Afghan population but the second language of only 10% of the remaining population (Kieffer, Langues, 1983); in northwestern Pakistan it was the language of perhaps 70% of the population in an area bordering to the north on Chitral (predominantly Khowar) and to the east on Hazara and Dera Ismail Khan (predominantly Panjabi); in the border region of northern Baluchistan (Quetta, Zhob and Loralay) it is the predominant language; it is spoken sporadically in other parts of Pakistan. For the whole of Pakistan there are no detailed statistics (Ahrens - Zingel 1978; cf. LSI X, 11-12; Penzl 1955, 1-4).

We do not know when the Pashtuns settled where they are now. The name *paštο* may be from **parsauah* (Morgenstierne 1940, 144 = 174) or from *parsa/u* + the suffix *-ăw* "in *Pārsa" found with names of languages in various Middle Iranian languages. Attempts have been made to connect this form with the names of East Iranian tribes attested in early literary sources, e.g. Πάρσιοι mentioned by Ptolemy, whose original home extended from Arachosia and Helmand to the Soleyman Mountains and to Ghazni-Kabul (cf. ibid. 142f. = 172f. and id., Afghanistan, 1983, 516).

4.2.1.1.2 Literature

Next after Persian, Pashto is the modern Iranian language with the longest literary tradition and possesses a rich written and oral literature of high quality attested from the 16th

* Special abbreviations used here include: EVP = Morgenstierne 1927 (see 4.2.1.8) and, for the most important dialects: Afr. = Afridi; Bann. = Bannuchi; Ghilz. = Ghilzay; Kāk. = Kākari; Kand. = Kandahari; Pesh. = Peshawari; Wan. = Waneci; Waz. = Waziri (see 4.2.1.1.5.2.1).

[1] I agreed to write the article on Pashto reluctantly, feeling I was not the one best qualified for it; recent circumstances have rendered its completion even more difficult than I had anticipated. As it stands I hope it contains, within the limits of the space allotted, a useful outline of the present knowledge of Pashto though some of the syntactical studies of Pashto could no longer be consulted. D. N. MacKenzie, going far beyond the call of duty for friendship's sake, read and commented in detail not only on one but on two versions of this article. His contribution is thus extensive, though I have marked it explicitly only in few, important places; it has added insight to the article and saved it from mistakes. Ch. M. Kieffer also read a draft and suggested some improvements; these are marked in the article.

cent. (Penzl 1955, 4 f.) and maybe even earlier[2]. The written literature is chiefly in either the Afghan or the Pakistani variant of standard Pashto. A few texts in local dialects have been published.

4.2.1.1.3 Descriptions

We have a comprehensive description of the dialect of Kandahar and a fairly comprehensive one of Waziri. Of the other variants, there are Afghan descriptions of the eastern dialect but the descriptions of the Pakistani dialects are partly outdated by modern standards. (See Penzl 1955, 7–13, for literature.) There are short descriptions of Waṇeci. A number of texts in Afridi have been published, but the dialect has not yet been described. Andreas' unpublished materials contain texts in Afridi and those of Morgenstierne texts in Afridi, Ghilzay and Xalil dialects. Some of this material has been quoted in Morgenstierne's published works, notably in EVP. The LSI (X, 5–121) contains specimens of several dialects. A short description of Tarīno (Waṇeci), including a survey of the Tarīn tribes and some Waṇeci material, was published by Ašraf Walī Moḥammad Xān (Syāl Kākaṛ). There exist a number of linguistic studies of Pashto, both synchronic and diachronic. The value of the latter is bound to be limited until more dialects are described completely. The usefulness of Morgenstierne's EVP is somewhat impaired by his incomplete understanding of Pashto historical phonology at the time of its publication and its lack of an explicit dialectological classification of the material quoted. Until the new etymological vocabulary of Pashto is published from his Nachlaß, EVP must always be supplemented with Morgenstierne's later writings on the subject.

4.2.1.1.4 Characterization of Pashto

Phonetically Pashto is characterized by the frequent occurrence of initial consonant groups (cf. Morgenstierne 1942, 90 f.[1]). The morphology is both conservative and innovative. It has, e.g., kept a number of nominal inflectional categories and a wide range of plural formations (cf. Morgenstierne 1942, 90); it has developed a distinction between animata and inanimata in the plural (see below 4.2.1.4.1.1). Typical of the verbal system is the Slavic-looking aspect system. The vocabulary has its expected share of Arabo-Persian and in addition contains a number of Indo-Aryan loanwords, esp. the eastern and Pakistani dialects.

4.2.1.1.5 Dialectology

4.2.1.1.5.1 Pashto is not descended from any known Middle Iranian language. It shares isoglosses with several East Iranian languages, most clearly with Yidgha-Munjī on the one hand and Ōrmuṛī on the other. Both in Yidgha-Munjī and Pashto *d > l and the parallelism in the formation of some periphrastic verb forms is quite striking. With both Yidgha-Munjī and Parāčī-Ōrmuṛī, Pashto shares the development of intervocalic *t > $\emptyset$, realized as y or w, with Ōrmuṛī only the development of *xt > $\emptyset$, realized as y or w, and *ft > w, but Parāčī both > t (see 4.2.1.7.4). The alternative development of *$-ft-$ > $-wd-$ again agrees with Yidgha-Munjī $-vd-$ (as also in the other Pamir languages). Two other striking isoglosses between Pashto and Ōrmuṛī are the preservation of earlier *$əi$ (< OIran. *$-aiah$,

[2] The Paṭa Xazāna which Morgenstierne 1960 considered to be of dubious authenticity, is genuine but modernized by copyists according to Kieffer (in litteris) but a fake according to MacKenzie and Elfenbein (in litteris). [For a complete discussion see now Loi 1987, 98, who concludes that the manuscript of the Paṭa Xazāna was written at the end of the last century, incorporating older material, the date and provenience of which, however, can no longer be determined.]

-iǰah) in Pashto as *-ə* (sometimes lost), Ōrmuṛī *-ī* (see 4.2.1.7.2) and **-žd-* > Pashto *ṛ*, Ōrmuṛī *l*. In view of these agreements and divergences the conclusion seems unavoidable that Pashto must have been subject to two different trends in its phonetical evolution determined by the languages or language groups it was in closest contact with at various times, first with the languages of the Bactrian and Yidgha-Munǰī type, in which **d* > *l*, and next with the Southeast Iranian languages in which **-t-* > ∅ (*y/w*). It is reasonable to assume that the relative position of Pashto and these languages changed at a time when the dentals were at a particularly unstable stage so that they developed differently even in structurally and semantically closely related words (*plār* but *mor, səl* but *sawa, bəl* but *byā*). This may have been at the time when intervocalic **δ* < **d* < OIran. **t* was beginning to merge with *l* < **δ* < OIran. **d*. The process was checked in some words (in the far southeastern part of the Pashto area, all words, see 4.2.1.1.5.3), in which intervocalic **d* remained and later developed to ∅. Note also the failure of **d* to develop into **δ* and *l* in *lid-* < **δiď-* due to dissimilation.

4.2.1.1.5.2 The Pashto area split into two dialect groups at a pre-literary period, represented today on the one hand by all the dialects of modern Pashto and on the other by Waṇeci and by archaic remains(?) in other Southeast dialects. The main isoglosses: 1) OIran. intervocalic **t* > Pš. *l*, sometimes *w/y/∅*, but Waṇ. only *w/y*; 2) OIran. **-rš-* > proto-Pš. **-rž-* > Pš. *-ẓ-*, but Waṇ. *-rž-*; 3) OIran. **-ršt-* > **-rš-* > Pš. *-ṣ-*, Waṇ. *-rš-*; but OIran. **-rs-* and **-rz-* > **-š^r-* and **-ž^r-*(?) > Pš. *-ṣt-, -ẓd-*, Waṇ. *-št-, -žd-*. Waṇeci developments such as *-ǎy* > *-ā* can be of later date.

4.2.1.1.5.3 Pashto dialects proper can be divided into four main groups: 1) Southwestern: Southwest Afghanistan, Kandahar (SW); 2) Northwestern or 'eastern': Eastern and Northeastern Afghanistan: Eastern and Kabul provinces and North(east) Afghanistan, Central Ghilzay (NW); 3) Southeastern: Baluchistan: Bannu, Waziri, Kākaṛi, Sherani, Spin/Tor Tarin (SE); 4) Northeastern: northwestern Pakistan, Peshawar, Yusufzay-Mohmand, northeastern Ghilzay, Afridi, Bangash, Orakzay.

Broad groupings. Correct?

4.2.1.1.5.3.1 There are several important isoglosses that can be taken as a basis for classification: 1) The phonetic realization of the two phonemes /ṣ/ and /ẓ/: a) as retroflex sibilants [ʂ, ʐ]; b) as medio-palatal fricatives [ç, j]; c) as [ʃ, ʒ] (coinciding with /š, ž/); or d) as [k, g] (coinciding with /k, g/). See Kieffer 1974, 24–29. 2) The realization of /c, j/ as [ts, dz] or [s, z] coinciding with /s, z/. More rarely [z] and [dz] appear to be in free variation: Bannuchi *ziē* or *jiē* "son" (LSI). Cf. Kieffer 1974, 31 f. 3) The merging of /ž/ with /j/. Cf. Kieffer 1974, ibid. – Thus we have (cf. MacKenzie 1959, 232):

Dialects:	SW (Kandahar)	SE (Quetta; Waṇ.)	NW (Central Ghilzay)	NE (Yusufzay)
/ṣ, ẓ/:	[ʂ, ʐ]	[ʃ, ʒ]	[ç, j]	[x, g]
/c, j/:	[ts, dz]	[ts, dz]	[s, z]	[s, z]
/ž/:	[ʒ]	[ʒ]	[ʒ]	[dʒ]

4.2.1.1.5.3.2 Other isoglosses

Phonology: Typical of the SW dialect is unstressed (pre- and posttonic) *a* > *ə*, the raising of final *-e, -o* > *-i, -u*, the raising of stressed *e* and *o* > [i:, u:] before final high vowel (*tere* > [ti:ri], *nore* > [nu:ri]; *-uy* for E *-oy*).

The NE dialects show monophthongization of final /-áy/ = [-ɛ:] but /-əy/ = [-ai]. Special eastern dialect features (e.g. NE Afr., SE Waz.) comprise the rounding of *ā* > *å* > *ō*, and the unrounding of *u/ū* > *ǖ* > *i/ī* (Waz., Bann. *ī*) and *ō* > *ȫ* > *ē* (Waz., Bann.; *ō* > *ə̄* in some Afr. dialects; in some dialects also *ō* > *u*); cf. *las, plār, mor* > Afr. *lās, plår, mör,*

Waz. *las, plōr, mōr,* Bann. *las, plōr, mēr*; *obá* > Waz. *ēbá*; *ospána* > Waz. *yēspana*. Only occasionally do we seem to find instances of both *ā* and *ō* > *ō* (*plōr – mōr*; cf. Kieffer 1974, 29–31). According to Lorimer, Waz. *ō* and *ü* pass "by an easy gradation" into *ē* [ɛ:] and *ī*. Short *a* may then be lengthened (Afr. e.g., *las* > *lās* "10"). In the eastern-central dialects – from Afridi to Waziri – there is a tendency to shifting the vowel system: /ā, o, u/ > /ō, [ō >] ē, ī/ and often /a/ > /ā/; cf. Kieffer 1974, 29–31. In SE dialects palatalization is less common than elsewhere. See also Morgenstierne 1926, 9–13; 1932, 10–14. 17–19.

Morphology: The possessive particle is generally *da* (*də*). Some NE/SE dialects also have *e* (Afr., Waz., NE Ghilz.), sometimes only of limited occurrence (Afr. *de mā, de tā* but *i nana*); Waṇ. has *ya* and *eyē*. The possessive pronouns vary between forms derived from **hača* + pron. and more recent forms with the genitive particle *da* or *e* (Kand. *jmā, stā,* Pesh. *zmā, stā,* Waz. *də mo/to, e mo/to,* NE Ghilz. *di mā, i tā*). Some eastern dialects and the dialects of Peshawar and adjacent areas (Bangash) have 3 sing. *-o* in the past tense (*lidó* for *lidá*; see Penzl 1955, 97). The 2 plur. ending is *-ō* in some N-SE dialects (Waz., Waṇ. *-o,* Afr. *-ā*).

4.2.1.2 *The script*

Pashto, like Persian, etc., is written in a modified Arabic alphabet using special diacritics for *ʃ, ʒ, ṭ, ḍ, ṇ* and *ṛ*; *c* and *j*; *e* (two vertical subscript dots) and the finals *-e* (final *-y* with two vertical subscript dots), *-əy* (in the 2 plur. of verbs and in the fem. ending, *-y* with hamze in Pakistan but with an added 'hook' in Afghanistan) and, in the eastern dialect, */-ɛ/* from *-ay* and *-e* like Urdu *-e*. The two vertical subscript dots and the 'hook' are modern Afghan inventions. The phonemes /i/ and /u/ are usually written according to the original spelling in loanwords but with *y* and *w* in Pš. words. Final *-á* is sometimes distinguished from *-á* by hamze over final *-h*. In the Paṣto Qāmus final *-á* is always marked as fathe, being thus distinguished from *-a,* which is marked zwarakay in accordance with Kand. pronunciation [-ə] in part one of the dictionary (thus both *-a* [-ə] and *-á* are marked as zwarakay) but in part two (though inconsistently) with two dots '..' (cf. *mayrá,* written *myrh* and vocalized as *"z[warakay], s[okun], ʃ[athe], s[okun]"*; *meṛá,* written *myṛh* and vocalized as *"k[asre] maj[hul], z, s"*; *maṭéna,* written *mṭymh* and vocalized as *"ʃ, k maj, .., s"*. Some ambiguity is removed by the fact that stress on non-final syllable is marked *"ff"* (*á*) and *"fz"* (*á*). (Cf. MacKenzie 1959, 234; Bečka 1969, 23 f.)

In older texts less developed alphabets are found. Thus the distinction between *c* and *j* is relatively recent (earlier *c* was used for both, as in Choresmian), and in the earliest literary monuments of Pashto we find modifications of *dāl* used to express *j* (*d* with subscript dot) and *ʒ* (with central dot). Cf. MacKenzie 1959, 233; 1965, 33. 61 ff. 73.

On the basis of the alphabets different theories regarding the place of origin of the Pashto alphabet have been put forward. Thus Morgenstierne (1932, 17) hypothesized that the alphabet was created in the north-eastern areas, tentatively followed by MacKenzie (1959, 233), whereas according to Penzl (1955, 9 f.) the alphabet appears to have originated in the Kandahar area. See also Kieffer 1974, 28 f.

– Origin of alphabet

4.2.1.3 *Phonology*

4.2.1.3.1 Vowel phonemes: The vowel phonemes of both SW and NE dialects are: /i ī e ə a ā o u ū əy ay āy aw āw oy/ (MacKenzie 1959, 233).

/ə/ contrasts with the other vowels in stressed final position, cf. *yaw – yawá – yawé – yawá* "one". The phonological status of interior *á* is much less clear; Paṣto Qāmūs has minimal

pairs like *naray* "thin" – *nəray* "braid", but the reality of this distinction is doubtful (according to the system of Paṣto Qāmūs, both words should be noted *nəray*) and may reflect dialect variations[3]. The realization of /a/ is strongly conditioned by its surroundings, thus in Kand. it may be assimilated to following *i* or *u* (*žába – žíbi – žúbu*); note also, e.g., standard *xpəl*, eastern *xpul*.

In the Kandahar dialect /ī/ and /ū/ are 'elegant' phonemes replaced by /i/ and /u/ in colloquial speech, but the eastern dialects appear to distinguish between /i, u/ and /ī, ū/.

In Waṇeci, according to Elfenbein[4], /ī, ū/ do not seem to be phonemically distinct from /ē, ō/, but the phonological system of Waṇeci needs further investigation.

a versus ● ə

The opposition between /a/ and /ə/ is neutralized in unstressed position (also in Waṇeci); other unstressed vowels as well may be realized as [ə].

In the Kandahar dialect final unstressed *-e* and *-o* > *-i* and *-u* except in certain endings to prevent homonymy (e.g., 2 sing. *-e* – 3 sing. *-i*: MacKenzie 1959, 234).

The NE dialect differs from the SE, esp. in the phonetic realization of diphthongs; thus /-áy/ = [-ɛ:] 'long lower mid-front' (when unstressed 'long mid-front'), and /-əy/ either = [-ai], with a 'lower high-front' [-i], in the Hazara dialect [-ɛɪ, -ɛe, -əɪ, -əe] (Penzl 1965, 230. 239; cf. Morgenstierne – Lloyd-James 1928–30, 59. 60). The second element of the long diphthongs *-āy* and *-āw* when final is often realized as [e] and [o]. Note also N-SE *-ye* (Waz., Afr. *-iye*) corresponding to both SW *-áy* and *-e* (< *-əy*).

Special N-SE dialect features comprise an *ō̃* (Waz., Bann., cf. Morgenstierne 1931, 290) and *ü̃/ũ̃* (Waz., only before *n*?). Some dialects have nasalized vowels, e.g. Waz. *-ã* = Pš. 1 sing. *-əm* and 3 sing. past tense *-a*. Note also, e.g., Kāk. *lũ̃d* "wet" (Pš. *nũ̃nd, lũ̃nd*).

4.2.1.3.2 Consonant phonemes: The consonant phonemes of the SW dialect are:

p b	t d		ṭ ḍ	k g
m	n		ṇ	
	s z	š ž	ṣ ẓ	x ɣ
	c j	č ǰ		
	r l		ṛ	
w		y		h

In addition, the following 'elegant' phonemes are found: /f q ʾ ḥ/ (in colloquial speech replaced by /p k Ø h/. See also Kieffer 1974, 22f.

The phoneme /ṇ/ is a nasalized retroflex lateral flap according to Penzl (1955, 25), a nasalized, fricative, retroflex *r* according to Morgenstierne – Lloyd-James 1928–30, 56 (dialect of Hazara).

The dental affricates /c, j/ coalesce with /s, z/ in the NW and NE dialects. In a few, high-frequency words, the dialects of Kandahar and SE dialects (?) have forms with *s* for *š* (*šəm – səm, šta – sta*). In the NE dialects /ž/ coalesces with /ǰ/.

The retroflex spirants /ṣ/ and /ẓ/ coalesce with /š, ž/ in SE dialects (e.g. Waz., Kāk., Waṇ.), but with /x, g/ in NE dialects (Yusufzay). In some NW dialects (Central Ghilzay) they are realized as medio-palatal fricatives (with spread lips) /x̌/ [ç] and /ɣ̌/ [j]; in others only one of the two is preserved, whereas the other has coalesced with /x/ or /g/ respectively (thus we have /x̌, ɣ̌/, /x̌, g/ or /x, ɣ̌/; cf. Kieffer 1974, 27).

[3] The dictionaries sometimes distinguish unstressed *ay* and *əy*, e.g., apparently Paṣto Qāmūs *məyrá* "stepmother" [Aslanov 1966 *məyrá/mayrá*, Waz. *mēra*] but *mayrá* "desert" [Aslanov 1966 *mayrá/merá*, Waz. *maira*]; I do not know how real this distinction is.

[4] Confirmed in letter of 4.3.1987.

4.2.1.3.3 Stress

Pashto is the only modern Iranian language with a phonemical stress. It distinguishes oxytone and barytone patterns in the inflection of adjectives and verbs, cf. *spin – spína* "white", but *šīn – šná* "blue"; *áxli* "takes", but *kawí* "does". Stress distinguishes the anaphoric pronouns from the demonstratives, e.g. *hayá* "he, the afore-mentioned", but *háya* "this, the following", and between imperfective and perfective aspect in verbs with prefixes, e.g., *kṣénāstáləm* "I was sitting" vs. *kṣénāstələm* "I sat (down)". Each polysyllabic word has the accent either on the stem or the final syllable, cf. nouns like *stárga* "eye", but *maṇá* "apple"; *kálay* "village", but *saṛáy* "man"; adjectives *náway* "new", but *naráy* "thin". There are minimal pairs like *áspa* "mare" vs. *aspá*, a disease (Shafeev 1964, 6; Bečka 1969, 75–77).

Some grammatical and lexical forms have fixed stress, e.g., the masc. dir. plur. *-úna*, the dir. plur. morpheme *-ắn*, the infinitive and participles in *-ắl*, etc., and the perf. part. in *-áy*; of the particles the perfective prefix *wá-* and the negations *ná* and *má*. Some derivational suffixes have predictable stress (for details see Bečka 1969).

4.2.1.3.4 Morphophonology

A typical feature of Pashto morphology and word formation are the ablauts. The ablaut '*a – ə*' is found in some masc. nouns with *a* in final closed syllable (e.g., *duṣmán* "enemy", plur. *duṣmắn*). The ablaut '*i/u – Ø*' is found in nouns and adjectives and is conditioned by the change of stress (*γar – γrə*; *šīn – šna*; *sur – sra*). The ablaut '*ō/ū – ā – a*' is found in nouns (chiefly masc.), in adjectives and the 3 pers. past tense. Examples:

Standard: sing. dir.	plur. dir.	plur. obl.	Waziri: sing. dir.	sing. obl.	plur. dir.	plur. obl.
Nouns:						
swor "rider"	*swārá*	*swaró*	*swōr*	*swora*		*swāre*
γobá "cowherd"	*γobāná*	*γobanó*	*γebön*	*γebona*		*γebāne*
špun "shepherd"	*špāná*	*španó*	*špün*	*špona*		*špāne*
čāṛá "knife"	*čaṛé*	*čaṛó*	*čoṛə*	*čoṛe*		*čoṛe*
Adjectives:						
soṛ "cold" (masc.)	*sāṛá*	*saṛó*	*soṛ*	*soṛa*		*sāṛe*
saṛá (fem.)	*saṛé*	*saṛó*	*sāṛa*	*sāṛe*		*sāṛe*
pox "ripe" (masc.)	*pāxá*	*paxó*	*pex*	*poxa*		*pāxe*
paxá (fem.)	*paxé*	*paxó*	*paxa*	*paxe*		*paxe*
drund "heavy" (masc.)	*drānā*	*dranó*	*drīnd*	*drona*		*drane*
draná (fem.)	*dané*	*dranó*	*drana*	*drane*		*drane*
xoẓ̌ "sweet" (masc.)	*xwāẓ̌á*	*xwaẓ̌ó*	*xōž̌*	*xōž̌*	*xwoža*	*xwāže*
xwaẓ̌á (fem.)	*xwaẓ̌é*	*xwaẓ̌ó*	*xwaža*	*xwaže*		*xwaže*
lund "wet" (masc.)	*lāndá*	*landó*	*līmd*	*līmd*	*lomda*	*laumde*
landá (fem.)	*landé*	*landó*	*laumda*	*laumde*		*laumde*

4.2.1.4 *Morphology*

4.2.1.4.1 Noun and adjective declension

Nominal declension is based upon gender, number and case. Masc. and fem. nouns and adjectives are declined differently. With the numerals from "2" and up masc. nouns ending in a consonant and diphthongs other than *-ay* take the 'numerative' ending *-a* (also Waṇ.: *sī kāla*). The cases are the dir. case, the obl. case and the vocative. In addition, most masc. nouns and some fem. nouns ending in a consonant take the ending *-a* after certain prepositions (*da* "from", *la, tar, be [la]*). This form may be termed oblique II. It may be related to Waṇ. *-(ē)ya* "from" and it would probably be more correct to analyse *da ... -a,* etc., as ambipositions on a line with, e.g., *da ... sará.* The dir. case of fem. nouns is used in some dialects in syntactical functions where other nouns are in the obl. case. In most masc. declension classes the obl. sing. is identical with the dir. sing. (Waṇ. distinguishes the two cases everywhere except in class 1 b.) In most fem. declension classes and in some masc. ones, the obl. sing. is identical with the dir. plur.

The voc. sing. of fem. nouns ends in *-e.* The voc. plur. masc. and fem. is always identical with the obl. plur.

4.2.1.4.1.1 Noun declension

Animata often have plur. *-án,* fem. *-ánе* (obl. *-áno*) replacing other endings (*-á, -úna, -e*). In Waṇeci the ending *-ān* is also found with inanimata such as *nīk* (*nīkān*); it may be a feature of Persian loanwords. Waṇeci seems to have extended the distinction between animata and inanimata to the sing. of masc. stems with plur. in *-ān* (*ās – āsé – āsán, dār – dārīwé – dārīwān*). (In the following tables the Waṇeci forms are in parentheses.)

Declension classes (masc. class 5 is not attested in Waṇeci?):

Masculine

	sing.		plur.	
class	dir.	obl.	dir.	obl.
1 a	*-Ø*	*-Ø (-á)*	*-úna*	*-úno, -ó*
			-án	*-áno, -ó*
b	*plār*	*plār*	*plărúna*	*plăró*
	wror	*wror*	*wṛúṇa*	*wṛúṇo*
c	*-á*	*-á*	*-úna*	*-úno, -ó*
			-án	*-áno, -ó*
2 a	*-i*	*-i*	*-iān*	*-iāno*
b	*-u*	*-u (-ūwe)*	*-ugān*	*-ugāno*
c	*-ā*	*-ā*	*-āgān*	*-āgāno*
3 a	*-á*	*-á*	*-āná, -á*	*-anó*
b	*-ún*	*-āná (-nānə)*	*-āná (-nān)*	*-anó (-nānū)*
	(špūn)	*(špənə́)*		
c	*spor*	*spārə́*	*spārə́*	*sparó*
4	*xar*	*xrə*	*xrə, xruna*	*xro*
			*(*xrān)*	
5	*-áC*	*-áC*	*-áC*	*-áCo*
6	*zoy (zoya)*	*zoy (zoyī)*	*zāmán*	*zāmáno*
7 a	*-áy (-á)*	*-í (-ī)*	*-í (-ī/yán)*	*-íyo/-áyo, -ó (-ī/yū, -īānū)*
b	*-ay*	*-i*	*-i*	*-yo, -o*
(c	*-ī*	*-ī*	*-ī*	*-yū)*

Feminine

class	sing. dir.	sing. obl.	plur. dir.	plur. obl.
1 a	-Ø	-e	-e	-o
b	-a (-ī)	-e (-ī)	-e (-ī)	
c	-á (-á)	-é (-ī)		
d	-ə́	-ə́ (-ī)		
2 a	-ā	-ā	-we	-wo
b	-o	-o	-gāne	-gāno
c	-i	-i (-e)	-i(g)āne	-i(g)āno
d	-əy (-ī)	-əy (-ī)	-əygāne (-īgān)	-əygāno (-īgānū)
			-iāne (-yān)	-iāno (-yānū, -yū)
3 a	-í	-áy (-ī)	-áy (-ī)	-ío (-īū)
b	-áy (-ī)			
4	mor	mor	maynde	maynd o

The plural of *mor,* etc. varies in the dialects: Kand. *mandi,* NW *maynde,* NE *mende,* etc., see EVP 45 f.; Penzl 1955, 60; see also below 4.2.1.7.4.

4.2.1.4.1.2 Adjectives and participles are inflected in gender, case and number. Masc. adjectives are inflected as noun classes 1 a, 3 b, c or 7 a, b; fem. adjectives as noun classes 1 b, c and 3; participles as noun classes 3 b, c or 7 a, b and 1 b, c and 3. The 3 sing. and plur. past tense are inflected as adjectives. Examples:

		sing. dir.	sing. obl.	plur. dir.	plur. obl.
1	masc.	ɣaṭ	ɣaṭ	ɣaṭ	ɣaṭo
	fem.	ɣaṭa	ɣaṭe	ɣaṭe	
2 a	masc.	už̌d	už̌də́	už̌də́	už̌dó
	fem.	už̌dá	už̌dé	už̌dé	
b	masc.	soṛ	sāṛə́	sāṛə́	saṛó
	fem.	saṛá	saṛé	saṛé	
3 a	masc.	ṣ̌āistá	ṣ̌āistá	ṣ̌āistá	ṣ̌āistó
	fem.	ṣ̌āistá	ṣ̌āisté	ṣ̌āisté	
b	masc.	ṣ̌ə	ṣ̌ə	ṣ̌ə	ṣ̌o
	fem.	ṣ̌a	ṣ̌e	ṣ̌e	
4 a	masc.	-áy	-í	-í	-ó/-ío
	fem.	-áy	-áy	-áy	
b	masc.	-ay	-i	-i	-o, -io
	fem.	-e	-e	-e	

For examples of class 2 adjectives see 4.2.1.3.4.

3 pers. past tense forms:

	sing. masc.	sing. fem.	plur. masc.	plur. fem.
1a	*lidá, -ó* E	*lidála*	*lidál*	*lidále*
1b	*wá-lid*			
[Waz.	*daredā*	*dared(əl)a*	*daredəl*	*dared(əl)e*]
[Waṇ.	*līd*	*līda*	*līdē*	*līdē*]
2	*tāṛə́*	*taṛá*	*taṛál*	*taṛəle*
	rə́yay	*rāyla*	*rāyləl*	*rāyle*
[Waṇ.	*rāyə́*	*rāyya*	*rāyī*	*rāy(y)ē*]
3	*xot*	*xatá*	*xatál*	*xatále*
4	*kəṛ*	*kṛa*	*kṛəl*	*kṛəle*
5a	*wə*	*wa*	*wu*	*we*
[Waz.	*wā, wa*	*wa*	*wī*	*we*]
[Waṇ.	*wī*	*wya*	*wī*]	
5b	*šu*	*šw(ál)a*	*šwəl*	*šw(ál)e*
[Waz.	*š(w)ā*	*šwa*	*šwəl*	*šw(əl)e*]
[Waṇ.	*sū, sə*	*swa*	*sū, swī*	*swē*]
Perf. part.:	*-ay*	*-e*	*-i*	*-e*
[Waz.:	*-ai, -əlai*	*-əlye*	*-elī*	*-əlye*]
	taṛálay	*taṛále*	*taṛéli*	*taṛále*
	káṛay	*káṛe*	*káṛi*	*káṛe*
[Waz.	*šəwai*	*šəwye*	*šəwī*	*šəwye*]

Comparison: Adjectives have no comparative or superlative. The comparative and the superlative are expressed by *tar* or *la ... -na* "than": *tar xpəl wror mášar day* "he is older than his brother", *tar ṭolo mášar day* "he is the oldest", literally "he is older than all". The superlative can also be formed by repeating the adjective: *da ṣo ṣə* "the best", literally "the good of those good".

4.2.1.4.2 Pronouns

4.2.1.4.2.1 Personal pronouns (Waṇeci forms in parentheses):

sing.	dir.	obl.	encl.	poss.
1	*zə (ze)*	*mā (mā, mi)*	*me (me)*	*zmā (mī)*
2	*tə (tə, ta)*	*tā (ta, tē)*	*de (dī, de)*	*stā (tă)*
3 masc.	*day*	*də*	*ye* (*(e, ī)* / *(a, ya)*)	*da də*
fem.	*dā*	*de*		*da de*

plur.	dir.	encl.	poss.
1	*mu(n)ž (moš)*	*mu*	*zmu(n)ž (moš)*
2	*tášelo (tās)*	*mu (mo)*	*stášelo (tāsə)*
3	*duy* / *hayuy*	*ye (e)*	*da dío* / *da hayó*

Some eastern dialects have 1 plur. *mu, -əm* (Afr.; Waz. *-ū* ?), 2 plur. *mo (ma)*. For the special poss. forms many dialects use the regular poss. prep. (*da, e*) with the obl. pronoun.

Colloquially the pronoun *ye* combines with other pronouns and verbal particles to form *ze, te, we, be,* etc., and the prepositions *par, tar* and *kṣe* to form *pre, tre* and *(pa-)kṣe.*

The directional particles *rā* (also *ar*, e.g. Afr.), *dar, war* are used instead of pronouns with postpositions, e.g., *rā-ta, dar-ta, war-ta* "to me/us, to you, to him/them". They are also used as directional preverbs (*rā-, war-kawəl* "to give me, him").

4.2.1.4.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns are formed from stems in *da-, dayа-* and *hayа-* (Kand. also *húya* etc.). For *hayа-* older texts also have **huy* (cf. *duy*).

Anaphoric dem. pron. (also used as pers. pron.; Kand. sing. dir. *dayə́, hayə́*):

	sing.			plur.		
	dir.	obl.		dir.	obl.	
		masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.	
"this one"	*dayа́*	*dayə́*	*dayé*	*dayə́*	*dayé*	*dayó, duyó*
"that one"	*hayа́*	*hayə́*	*hayé*	*hayə́*	*hayé*	*hayó, huyó*

Dem. pron. (adj. forms):

		sing.		plur.	
		dir.	obl.	dir.	obl.
"this"		*dā*	*de*	= sing.	
	masc. / fem.	*dáya*	*dáya* / *dáye*	*dáya* / *dáye*	*dáyo*
"that"	masc. / fem.	*háya*	*háya* / *háye*	*háya* / *háye*	*háyo*

Waṇ. has the weak dem. (almost a definite article, as also in other dialects, e.g. Afr.) *aya* and the stong demonstratives *indī, aī, ā*. The declension of *áya*:

	sing.			plur.	
	dir.	obl.	poss.	dir.	obl.
masc.	*áya*	*áyə*	*áyə*	*áya*	*áyīī*
fem.	*áya*	*áya*	*áye*	*áyē*	

Derivatives of the dem. pronominal stems are *dona, domra, homra, hayomra* "that much, so many", *dāse, dayase, hayase* "such", etc.

4.2.1.4.2.3 Interrogative and other pronouns and pronominal forms

The interr. pronouns are *cok*, obl. *čā* "who?" and *cə* "what" (plur.). Other interr. pronominal forms are: *co* and *cona, comra* "how many, how much?" (cf. *dona, domra* "that much"), *cánga (cə ranga)* "what kind of, how?", *cowəm* "which number'th?", *kum* "which one?". The interr. pronouns may combine with the rel. particle *če* to form rel. pronouns: *cok če*, etc.; and with *he(c)* to form indefinite pronouns: *hecok* with negation "no-one", etc.

Refl. pronouns are *xpəl* "own" and *(xpəl) jān* "self".

Pronominal adverbs: *dəlta, dale* (Waz. *dele, dolata*) "here", *halta, hure* (Waz. *wolata*) "there", *čárta, čáre* "where" (Kand. *čere*, Waz. *čɛre*); see EVP 21 s.v. *dəlē*. Cf. Waṇ. *dāl* "here", *dēl, dayalēl* "thus", *dəlčī* "here"; *orə* "there" (cf. Pš. *war*), and with *-čī*: *(h)orčī* "in it, there".

4.2.1.4.3 Numerals

4.2.1.4.3.1 Cardinal numbers are declined for case, *yaw* "one" and *dwa* "two" also for gender (see also Penzl 1955, 82f.). For "29" etc. the expression "30 less one" (*yaw kam deršə*) is also found; the dialects have still other variants, e.g., Waz. *tɛr pa wota* "one over

eight" = "nine", *yo dɛrš* = *yo bondi dɛrš* "one upon 30", *špetalas* = *aviā* "70", *ātiālas* "90", *drē kam* or *špēž bondi owa šəla* "3 less/6 upon 7 score" = "137/146" (Lorimer 1902, 13; see also EVP 53 s.v. *nawē*).

Declension of "one": masc. dir. *yaw*, obl. *yawá*, fem. dir. *yawá*, obl. *yawé*; of "two": dir. masc. *dwa*, fem. *dwe*, obl. masc./fem. *dwo*.

Cardinal numbers:

	las "10"	*šəl, wšəl* (SE) "20"	*derš* "30"		
yaw	*yawólas* "11"	*yá(w)-wišt* "21"	*yáw-derš* "31"	*səl* "100"	*zər* "1000"
dwa	*dwólas*	*dwá-wišt* "22"	*díi/dwá-derš* "32"	*dwa sáwa*	*lak* "100,000"
dre	*dyā́rlas*	*dár-wišt* "23"	*dré-derš* "33"	*dre sawa*	
calor	*cwā́rlas*	*calér-(w)išt* "24"	*calwéšt* "40"	etc.	
pinjá	*pinjálas*	*pinjá-wišt* "25"	*panjós*		
špaž	*špā́ṛas*	etc.	*špetá*		
owá	*owálas*		*awyá*		
atá (at)	*atálas*		*atyá*		
nəh	*núlas* (E), *nónas*		*náwe*		

The hundreds also *dre-, cun-, pun-, špaž-su,* etc. Compound numerals not listed contain the simple numerals as components.

4.2.1.4.3.2 Ordinal numbers are adjectives formed by adding *-(y)ám* to the cardinal numbers, e.g., *dwayám (dwahám), drayám,* etc., *awyāyám, nəwiyám*; "first" is *lumṛáy ([w]ṛumbáy).*

4.2.1.4.4 Verbs

4.2.1.4.4.1 The Pashto verbal system is basically of the common Iranian type. Its tense forms are based upon a triple stem system: present–past–perfect, by which it forms the pres., impf., past, perf. and pluperfect tenses, but the system is distinguished by its large number of composite forms and its use of particles to express aspect and mode. The tense system is dominated by the opposition between the imperfective and perfective aspect.

4.2.1.4.4.2 Stem formation

The past stem is formed from the present stem by 1) adding the past stem morpheme *-əl-* (*taṛ-* > *taṛəl-*), 2) by modifying the stem (*lwal-* > *lwastəl-* "to read"), 3) by means of a different stem (*gor-* > *katəl-* "to see"). The perf. stem is formed by adding *-ay* to the past stem.

Pashto (also Waṇ.) has developed a system of 'weak' verbs characterized by the morpheme *-aw-* for trans., and *-eǯ-/-ed-* for intrans. verbs, cf. the deverbative *rasedəl* "to arrive" and the denominative *ǰoṛawəl* "to build", *ǰoṛedəl* "to be built". A trans. verb which forms the past stem by adding *-ed-* to the pres. stem is *arw-, arwed-* "to hear". In Waṇ. some trans. verbs may form a pres. stem in *-en-* (Morgenstierne 1973, 211 f.), e.g. *lunen-* "to winnow", past *wí-luniy-*, coinciding with Olran. *n*-stems like *wazen-, weziy-* "to kill". Note Waṇ. *ležd-aw-un-* beside *ležd-* "to load up", Pš. *leždˌ[-aw]-əl.*

4.2.1.4.4.3 Compound verbs

Pashto possesses a system of compound verbs which in the perfective forms are resolved into two components which may be separated by verbal particles and by encl. pronouns. These verbs are of two kinds: 1) Verbs with preverbs: *rā-wṛám, rá ba wṛam* and *preǯdám, pré ba ǯdəm,* or pseudo-preverbs (= initial syllable of the verb): *aɣustəl* (< **āgusta-*), perf. *w-á ... ɣust* and *yo ba sam* from *yosəm* (< **ās-*), perf. of *wṛam.* 2) Denominative verbs in *-awəl/*

-edəl restore the nominal element in the perfective forms and are conjugated by means of the aux. *kawəl/kṛəl* in the act. and *kedəl/šwəl* in the pass.: *ǰoṛawəl* "to build", pass. *ǰoṛedəl*; pres. *ǰoṛawəm*, fut. *ǰoṛ ba kṛəm, mā ǰoṛāwə́* "I was building it", *mā ǰoṛ kəṛ* "I built it", *mā ǰoṛa kṛa* "I built it (fem.)"; *ǰoṛeẓi* "it is being built", *ǰoṛedə́* "it was being built", *ǰoṛ šu* "it was built". Verbs from adjectives with ablaut form their stems from the fem. form, e.g. *paxawəm* "I cook" < *pox-paxá*.

4.2.1.4.4.4 Aspect and mood

The perfective aspect is formed from the imperfective aspect by 1) prefixing *wə́-* (*taṛəm* > *wə́taṛəm*), 2) transferring the stress from the stem to the preverb (*preẓdə́m* > *prə́ẓdəm*), 3) using a different stem (*wṛəm* > *yosəm*). The present subjunctive is formally a 'perfective present'. Other various modal nuances are conveyed by the particle *ba-* (see below). The pot. (aux. *šwəl*) expresses potentiality, but not consummation of action as in other Iranian languages. Conspectus of the tenses and moods:

simple		*ba*-forms	
imperfective	perfective	imperfective	perfective
present	present subjunctive	future	future
imperfect	simple past	past durative	
perfect		conditional	
pluperfect		conditional	

The perf. cond. is formally a 'future perf.', i.e., perf. part. with future of "to be", e.g., *tā ba lidəlay wi* "you will have seen him"; and the pluperfect cond. a 'durative pluperfect', i.e., perf. part. plus past tense of "to be" and the particle *ba*, e.g., *tā ba lidəlay wu* "you would have seen it". Cf. Penzl 1955, 127 § 96.5 b.

The cond. opt. has an imperf. and a perf.: *ka me lidələ́́y* (*-áy* is only Afghan Pš.; MacKenzie) "if I should see", and *ka me lidəlay wə́́y* "if I had seen".

The pot. has all the tenses: intrans. *zə tlə́́y šəm, zə ba tlə́́y šəm/šwəm/šəway yəm/šəway wəm* "I am/will be/was/have been/had been able to come"; trans. *zə taṛələ́́y šəm/ba taṛələ́́y šəm/taṛələ́́y šwəm, mā taṛələ́́y šu/šəway day/šəway wə* "I am/will be/was/have been/had been able to tie"; cf. also *zə wayələ́́y šəm/ba wayələ́́y šəm, mā wayələ́́y šu/šəwi di/šəwi wu* "I am, etc., able to say" (the obj. of *wayəl* here is generally plur.: the words spoken; MacKenzie).

4.2.1.4.4.5 Nominal forms of the verb

The infinitive is a plur. noun made from the imperfective past stem: *wahə́l* "to strike", obl. *wahə́lo* or *wahó*. Beside *kawə́l* "to do" *kṛəl* is also found. Waṇ. has infinitives in *-ang* (also common in Kāk.) and in *-iy* (cf. *wezyīī min* "for killing"). The inf. is frequently found with prep./postp. and can be subj./agent of a verb.

Participles: The pres. part. is formed from the stem by adding the suffix *-únkay* (rarely *-únay*). The perf. part. is usually formed from the inf. by adding *-ay*. Some verbs form the perf. part. from the perfective stem, in which case the stress is transferred to the stem and a *á* inserted (*kṛ-* > *káṛ-ay, wṛ-* > *wáṛ-ay, šw-* > *šáw-ay*). The perf. part. is also used to form the pass. (in Kand. the inf. may alternatively be used). The invariable opt.-pot. part. is formed from the past stem with the ending *-áy* (W) or *-áy*; Waṇ. *-ā* (Morgenstierne 1973, 223). The eastern forms thus differ from the perf. part. by their stress (*tə́lay day* "he has come" but *tláy šī* "he can come"). The origin of the pot. part. form is unclear. Perhaps it was originally a form of the perf. part. but was differentiated from it by adopting the end-

ing of the opt.-cond. of "to be" *wǎy*, which may be from OIran. **ba/uuātī*, Pers. *bād*. MacKenzie suggests that *šwəl* in pot. constructions is from OIran. *xšaiia-*.

4.2.1.4.4.6 Conjugation

"To be":

	standard		Waz.		Waṇ.	
	sing.	plur.	sing.	plur.	sing.	plur.
1	*yəm*	*yu*	*yā*	*yī*	*ī*	*yū*
2	*ye*	*yəy* (Kand. *yāst*)	*ye*	*yestai*	*ye*	*yo*
3 masc.	*day*	*di*	*dai*	*dī*	*da*	*dī, -īn*
fem.	*da*		*do*		*də*	

The 3 sing./plur. subjunctive is *wi* (*yi*), opt. *wǎy*. The verbum existentiae is *šta* (*sta*), *nášta* (*nəsta*), often followed by the copula.

Verbal endings:

	pres. standard	Waz.	Waṇ.	past standard	Waz.	Waṇ.
sing. 1	*-əm*	*-ā*	*-ī[na]*	*-(ál)əm*	*-(əl)ā*	*-ī*
2	*-e*	*-e*	*-ē*	*-(ál)e*	*-(əl)e*	*-ē*
3 masc.	*-i*	*-ī*	*-Ø, -ə, -ī[n]*	*-Ø, -á, -ó* NE	*-Ø, -ā*	*-Ø, -[y]ə*
3 fem.				*-(ál)á*	*-(əl)a*	*-ya*
plur. 1	*-u*	*-ī*	*-ū[nū]*	*-(ál)u*	*-(əl)ī*	*-yū*
2	*-əy, -āst (-ō)*	*-ai*	*-ō*	*-(ál)əy, -(ál)ášt*	*-(əl)ai*	*-ō*
3 masc.	*-i*	*-ī*	*-ī, īn[a]*	*-á, -ál*	*-əl*	*-ī, -ē*
fem.				*-(ál)e*	*-(əl)e*	*-[y]ē*

4.2.1.4.5 Word formation

Pashto can form words through derivation or composition. For suffixes and prefixes see Shafeev 1964; Penzl 1955, etc.; for nominal composition see also Zyār 1974, and for verbal composition Ganiev 1985. Common suffixes producing nouns from nouns and adjectives are Pers. *-gǎr, -dār*, Pš. *-wāl(ā), -yāl*: agent nouns; Pers. *-í* and Pš. *-tob, -wálay* and *-tyā*: abstract nouns; *-tun*: nouns of place (*pohantun* "university"); *-óna, -un* and *-ang* (SE and Waṇ. inf.) which form nouns from verbs. For verbs see 4.2.1.4.4.3.

4.2.1.5 *Prepositions, postpositions and ambipositions*

4.2.1.5.1 Prepositions: *da* expresses possession (Waṇ. postp. *ya, eyē*) and point of departure; as element of ambipositions: *da ... sará* "with", *da ... caxá/jine* "from", *da ... dapára* "for the sake of", etc. *pa* expresses instrument and, as element of ambipositions, place: *pa ... bānde* "upon", *pa ... kṣe* "in(to)", etc. *par* (Kand.) expresses location and direction. *tar* expresses direction "up to" and comparison; ambiposition: *tar ... lānde* "under"; it is used as postp. before adverbs of place (*da ... tar maxa* "before"). *la* expresses direction from; ambiposition: *la ... na/caxá* "from"; *la ... sará* "with"; synchronically *la ... -a* (also Waṇ. *-[ē]ya*; see 4.2.1.4.1) should probably also be reckoned as an ambiposition. *be (la)* "without" (from Pers. *bē, bī*). *wa* (with postp. *ta, la[ra]*, literary) expresses movement towards.

4.2.1.5.2 Postpositions: *ta* and *la, lara,* alone or with the prep. *wa,* express direction towards. *na* and *caxá* only with the prep. *la,* "from". Waṇ. also *min, minde* "in, on".

4.2.1.5.3 Conjunctions: Note *aw* "and", *xo* "but", *ka* "or; if", *jáka* "therefore", *waliče* "because" < *wáli* "why?". Other conjunctions are from Persian and Arabic.

4.2.1.6 *Points of syntax*

4.2.1.6.1 Congruence

Adjectives, pronouns and participles (except the pot.-opt. part.) agree with the head noun in gender, number and case. Verbs agree with the grammatical subject in person and number, the copula 3 sing. and forms containing participles also in gender. Verbs with several masc. or fem. subjects are in the masc. plur. or fem. plur. respectively, verbs with several subjects of both genders agree with a fem. noun if it is nearer to the verb (see Penzl 1955, 140). On the ergative construction see below 4.2.1.6.3.

4.2.1.6.2 Case

Nouns and 3 pers. pronouns as dir. obj. are in the dir. case, 1 and 2 pers. pronouns in the obl. case. The encl. pronouns of all persons are also used as dir. obj. For the special case forms used with certain prepositions (*la, tar, be [la]*; *pa, par*; see 4.2.1.4.1) see Penzl 1955, 64 f. Pashto does not distinguish determined and indetermined dir. obj. (nor does it have an indefinite article other than the numeral *yaw* "one").

4.2.1.6.3 The ergative construction

The Pš. ergative construction is of the regular pass. type: agent in the obl. case, dir. obj. (= grammatical subj.) in the dir. case and the verb agreeing with the dir. obj. If no dir. obj. is present, the verb is in the masc. plur., e.g., "I go/went", "I see/saw (him)", "I am/was seen":

	intrans.	trans.	pass.
pres.	*zə jəm*	*zə winəm*	*zə lidálay keẓəm*
impf.	*zə tləm*	*mā day lidá*	*zə lidálay kedəm*
past	*zə wlāṛ šəm*	*mā day wálid(ə)*	*zə lidálay šwəm*

Verbs with a notional 'cognate obj.' are trans. (thus MacKenzie), e.g. "laugh (a laugh)", "weep", etc.; "dance (a dance)", "jump", etc.; e.g. *də žaṛəl* "he wept".

In contrast with the ergative, the pass. conjugation is primarily used in agentless constructions, though an agent may be expressed by agential complements like *da ... la xwā* "from the side of", etc. Where an agent is present an active or ergative construction is normally used: *day mā wahi* and *zə ye wahəlay yəm* rather than *zə da də la xwā wahəlay keẓəm* and *zə da də la xwā wahəlay šəway yəm* "I am being/have been beaten by him".

4.2.1.6.4 Verbal particles

The particle *ba* is used to form the fut. tense (*zə ba wahám*), the durative past (*zə ba ye waháləm*), the cond. perf. and pluperfect (*day ba me wahálay wi, zə ba ye wahálay wəm*), and the cond.-opt. moods (*zə ba ye wahálay wāy*). For descriptions of the cond. perf./pluperfect see Penzl 1955, 127; Shafeev 1964, 47 f.; and cf. Trumpp 1873, 341 f.; Lorenz 1979, 184 f. 203.

The negative particle *na* is placed before the verb (*zə na wāycm, na me wayəl*), after stressed preverbs, i.e., in perfective forms and compound verbs. It can be placed after the verb for emphasis (*zə wayəm na*). The negation of the imperative is *má*.

The hortatory particle is *de* (*day de rāšī/rā-de-šī* "let him come!").

4.2.1.7 *Historical phonology*[5]

4.2.1.7.1 Vowels

OIran. *a*: The treatment of OIran. *a* depends on stress and other conditioning factors yet to be precisely determined.

á > *ā* (> *ō*), mainly in closed syllable? (**aspah* > *ās* "horse", Waz. *wōs*; **dastah* > *lās* "hand", Waz. *los*; **pitárah* > *plār* "father"; Av. *nəmaδkā* > *mālga* "salt", cf. *ba-lmanga* "saltless", Waz. *bē-lmang* "tasteless"). – > *ō* (**ašā* > *oẓa* "shoulder", Waṇ. *wuẓə*; **asruu̯* > *oṣə́/uṣə́* "tear", Waz. *yē/īška*).

-á- > *a*, mainly in open, originally unstressed, syllable? (**dasam* > *las* "10"; **gadah* > *ɣal* "thief"; **satā* > *sawa* "hundreds"; **(x)šu̯ašam* > *špaẓ* "6"). – > *ə* (**katakah* > *kálay* "village"; often *-an-* > *-ən-*: **arzaniį?* > *ždən* "millet", Waṇ. *ēždən*; **paθanah* > *plən* "broad, wide").

a-́ > *a-* (**aštam* > *at* [> *atá*] "8"; from secondary **ā-́*: **áspā* > **áspa* [> Waz. *wōspa*] > *aspá* "mare"). – > Ø (**apuθrah* > *bur* "childless (man)"; **apuθrā* > Waz. *bīra*; **au̯aθra* > *war* "thither", but Waṇ. *or-*; **hamīnakah* > *mánay* "autumn"; **hankārai̯a-* > *gor-* "see").

-a-́ > Ø (**gadiį̄ā* > *ylā* "theft"; **madiį̄ā* > *mlā* "waist"; **padiį̄ā* > *pla* "tendon"). – > *i/ī* (**pančam* > *pinjə́* "5"; common in Waṇ.; e.g., *pīxa*, Pš. *paxá*).

-a > *-a*, in the vocative and imperative.

á[i] > *yá* (**abráčį̄i* > *wryaj* "cloud"; **θrai̯ah-dasa* > **dar[l]as?* > *dyărlas* "13", Waṇ. *dar-las*). – > *(y)ā* (**ráθį̄i* > **ra[i]δ* > **ryāl* > *l[y]ār* "road"; **u̯adį̄i* > *w[y]ālá*, *welá* "water channel", Waṇ. *wāla*). – > *e* (**martį̄ah* > *meṛə* "husband", Waṇ. *maṛə*; **u̯itastį̄i* > *wlešt*, *lwešt* "span"; **[x]šu̯aštį̄i* > *špetá* "60"). – Before nasal > *ī* (**bandačį̄i* + *a* > *winja* "slave girl"; Waṇ. 1 sing. and 3 plur. **-amį̄, -antį̄* > *-ī, -īn*). – > *ə* (**u̯isátį̄i* > Kāk. *wšəl*, *ᵘšel* > *šəl* "20").

-ám > *-ə* (**azám* > *zə*, unless analogical from *tə* < **tuu̯(am)*).

-ahă- > *ā* > *ō* (**dahákah* > *loy* "big"; **sahakah* > *soy* "hare"; **zahakah* > *zoy* "son").

[5] The phonology, morphology and syntax of SW and standard Pashto have now been relatively well described in several grammars and special studies, introductory courses and dictionaries, and a summary of what we know of the history of Pashto is, I believe, a relatively deeply felt desideratum. Most of the etymologies quoted here are found in Morgenstierne 1927 (EVP) and in his articles, and for reasons of space I have not thought it necessary to refer to these in every case. Similarly, most of the dialect forms quoted here are found in these works. Waziri is also quoted from Lorimer 1902, Waṇeci also from Elfenbein 1967; 1984 and Afridi from Andreas' notes edited by Skalmowski 1975; 1978. It is a problem common to all new Iranian languages what to reconstruct as pre-forms. Reconstructions conforming strictly to reconstructed proto-Iranian will in very many cases miss the point since the modern languages have passed through a number of linguistic stages, each with its particular phonological and morphological systems. I have found that for Pashto an OIran. stage with a vowel system similar to that of Old Persian gives a good basis for understanding its historical development. I have reconstructed the nom. of *a*-stems with **-ah* in most cases, regardless of whether it may actually have been **-am*, since the correct assignment of masc. and ntr. endings would cause unnecessary complications and neither ending left any trace in proto-Pashto. In reconstructing the MIran. stage of Pashto, or proto-Pashto, I have endeavored to reconstruct a phonological system which would account for the development of the various dialects, including Waṇeci.

-akah > *-ay* (**spakah* > *spay* "dog").
-akā-, -ikā, -akī? > **-aya, -iya, -ayi̯* > **-a̯ia, -a̯ia* > *-əy* (**spakā, -kī* > *spəy* "bitch").
-au̯a- > *ō/ū* (**nau̯adasa* > *nolas, nulas*).
-au̯ah/m > *-əu̯* > *-ə* (**nau̯am* > **nəu̯* > *nə[h]*).
-a̯ah > **-a̯i* > *-ə* (**zṛda̯ah* > *zṛə* "heart").
-a̯akah > *-ay*; *-a̯a/ikā* > *-əy* (**fa̯akah* > Waz. *xway[yē]* "wooden shovel" [Yid. *fia*; Morgenstierne 1942, 262]; **pa̯a/ikā* > *pəy* "milk").
-a̯āh > *-ie, -e* (fem. obl. sing. and nom. plur.: **aspa̯āh* > *aspe*; **u̯a̯ita̯āh* > *wule* "willow").

OIran. *ā*: regularly > *ō* in Pš.; however, proto-Pš. must still have had *ā*, which did not become *ō* if unstressed or palatalized.

á- > *ō* (**ātsu̯ania̯ā* > *ospəna* "iron"; **āpi̯ah* > *obə́* "water"; **āsukah* > *osay* "gazelle").
-á- > *ō* (**bāzukah* > *ozay*, Waz. *wōzay* "bone of the arm, shinbone").
-ā- > *a* (**dāmani̯* > *lamán*; **kāra̯a-* > *kar-ə́l* "to sow"; caus. morpheme *-aw-* < **-āu̯á̯ia-* [not **-āpa̯a-*]).
-ā > *-ă̄* (fem. ending **-ā* > *-ă̄*: **aspā* > *aspa*; **gadi̯ā* > **γla* > *γlā* "theft", Waz. *γlā*; **ga̯u̯ā* > *γwā* "cow", Waz. *γwō* [MacKenzie suggests the possibility that *-ā* < **-ākā*]; **safā* > *swa* "hoof"; **xšapā* > *šp̌a* "night", Waz. *šp̌a*).
á^i > *(y)ā* (**aštāti-* > *atyā* "80", Waṇ. *atā*; **haftāti-* > *awyā* "70", Waṇ. *awā*; **kārti̯* > **kyāṛa̯* > *čāṛə́* "knife"; **kāri̯* > plur. *čāre* "work"; **tānθri̯* > *tyārə́* "darkness", Waṇ. *tārə*; **-tāti̯* > *-tyā* nominal suffix). *-* > *ē/ī* (**ātikā* > *helə́y* "duck"; **āθri̯ā* > *irá* "ashes", Waṇ. *are*).
-āh, -āt > *-a* (**-pāh* > *-ba* in *γoba* etc.; **ma̯iθmāh* > *melmá* "guest"; **-āt* > *-a* in masc. obl. II).
-āha- > *ō* (**u̯āh[a]rtakah* > *woṛay* "spring").
-āhah > *-uy* (**a̯itāhah* > *duy*?).
-āN- > proto-Pš. *-ūN-* (**abidānā* > **wlūna* [Waz. *wlūna*] > *mluna* "bridle", Waṇ. *awlūn*; **āntā* > *udá* "breath; spell"; **dāmā* > *luma* "noose, snare", Waz. *lūma*; **nāmah* > *num* "name").

Pš. *-ān-* is secondary from *-án-* (cf. obl. sing. **panahi̯a*, dir. plur. **panaa̯ah* > *°bānə* "-herd", in **gau̯-pan-* > *yobānə*, etc., similarly **ma̯iθman-* > *melmá, melmānə* "guest").

-ā̆u̯a- > *ō* (**čā̆u̯as* > *co* "how much/many"; **gā̆u̯arsah* > *yoš̌t* "millet"; **-ā̆u̯am* > *-o* with names of languages: *tarīno*).
-ā̆i̯ah > *-e* (**θrā̆i̯ah* > *dre* "3").

OIran. *i*:

i > *i* (**riškā* > *riča* "nit"). *-* > *ə* (**di̯itah* > *bəl* "other"; **nina-* > *nənə* "inner, inside").
-i̯ah > *-ə*, see 4.2.1.7.2.
-i̯á- > *-ia-* (**brāθr[u̯]i̯ā* > *wrera* "niece"; **māθr[u̯]i̯ā* > *mayra* "step-mother").
-i̯āh > *-ie*? (**nazdi̯āh* > *nižd́e* "near"; fem. sing. obl., plur. dir. ending *-e*?).

Note also **u̯igatakah*(?) > *γə́lay* "hidden, silent"; **hizu̯ā* > *žə́ba* "tongue".

OIran. *ī*:

ī- > *∅* (**īzi̯akah* > *žay* "leather bag").
-ī- > *ə* (**hamīnakah* > *mə́nay* "autumn"; **strīči̯* + *a* > *ṣ̌ə́ja* "woman"). *-* > *ī* (**dīta-* > *lid-ə́l*).
-ī > **-i̯i* > *-i(ə)*, see 4.2.1.7.2.

OIran. *u*:

u > *a* (**uskah* > *hask* "tall, high"). - > *á* (**fušā* > *wráṛa* "flea"). - > ∅ (**[s]nušā* + *-or* > *nẓor* "daughter-in-law"; **suxrá* > *sra* "red"). - With secondary lengthening > *ū* (**suxrah* > *sur* "red", Waz. *sīr*).
-u > *-uu̯?* (**pasu[š]* > **pasuu̯* > *psə* "goat").
-uu̯a^{x} > *-ə*, see 4.2.1.7.2.

OIran. *ū*:

ū > *ə* (**mūšah* + *-ak* > *məẓak* "mouse"; **nūnam* > *nən* "today"; **stūniį* > *stən* "needle"). - > *ū* (**dūtah* > *lu, lu-gay* "smoke", Waz. *līgay*; **gūθa-* > *γ[w]ul, [γwəl]* "excrement").

OIran. *r̥*:

> **ər*, **ar*, see below 4.2.1.7.3 under OIran. *r*.

OIran. *ai̯*:

-ái̯- > *e* (**dai̯miį̯ah* > *lemá* "eyeball"). - > *ī* (**axšai̯nah* > *šīn*). - > *a* (via *ī* > *ə* or *ᶦa*?) (**mai̯šah* > *maẓ* "ram", Waz. *maž*, Waṇ. *myāž*).
-ai̯ˊ > *-a-* > ∅ (**axšai̯nā* > **šīná* > *šna*; **xu̯ai̯dā* > *xwala*; **xu̯ai̯paθii̯ah* > *xpəl*, Waṇ. *xwai*).
ái̯ⁱ- > *e* (**mai̯šii̯* > *meẓ* "ewe", Waz., Waṇ. *myež*).
ai̯ⁱˊ > *a* (**u̯ai̯tii̯ā* > *wala* "willow", Waṇ. *wīya*).

OIran. *au̯*:

> *wa* (**dau̯gah* > *lway* "milking"; **drau̯gah* > Waṇ. *dərway* "lie"; **gau̯-dānam* > Waṇ. *γ(w)alīn* "breast"; **gau̯-dānā* > **γwalīna* > *lawayīna* "milk pail"; **gau̯šah* > *γwaẓ* "ear", Waz. *γōẓ*; **rau̯čah* > *rwaj, wraj* "day", Waz. *vrəz*; **upari-gau̯dakah*? > *baryōlay* "lid of a pot", Waz. *baryēlay*).
au̯Nˊ > *ū* (**jau̯mah* > *yum* "gait"; also secondary: **nafšah* > **naw(n)d* > *nund*).
au̯ⁱ > *wa* (**dau̯xšai̯a-* > *lwaš-* "to milk", Waz. *lwēš-*); - > *e* (**rau̯pačii̯* > *rebəj* "broom").
au̯Nⁱ > *ī* (unstressed > ∅) (**u̯ahunii̯* + *a* > *wina* "blood"; **srau̯nii̯* + *a* > *ṣ̌na* "hip bone").

4.2.1.7.1.1 Ablaut (cf. 4.2.1.3.4)

The origin of the ablaut '*a* - *ə*' may be sought in analogy with irregular masc. plur. formations (the vocalic pattern V-*á* is that of *špun* - *špāná*, *šīn* - *šna*) rather than in some phonetic development (e.g. *-ən* < *-anii̯-*). The ablaut '*i/u* - ∅' is conditioned by the change of stress (*yar* - *yrə*; *šīn* - *šna*; *sur* - *sra*).

It is difficult to explain the ablaut '*ō/ū* - *ā* - *a*' since we are dealing not with two modern representatives of OIran. *a*, which could easily be explained in terms of accent, but with three. One possible development is OIran. **sártah* - *sártii̯ˣ* - *sartá* > **sāṛ* - *sáṛəi* - *saṛá* > *sāṛ* - *sāṛəi̯* - *saṛá* > *sōṛ* - *sāṛə* - *saṛá*, i.e., stressed *a* > *ā* and then rounded in closed syllable. The lengthening of *a* must have occurred after *ān* > *ūn*. Note also that syllables preceding *-á* in nouns and adjectives in standard Pš. are often long.

4.2.1.7.2 The final *-ə́*

This ending characterizes a number of forms: 1) nominal stems; 2) oblique case forms: the obl. sing. of oxytone masc. nouns and adjectives and of pronouns; 3) plur. formations:

dir. plur. of oxytone masc. nouns and adjectives and masc. and fem. pluralia tantum, including a class of verbal action nouns; 4) verbs: the 3 sing. past tense, alternating with Ø (E *-o*).

Derivation of *-á* from OIran. *-aiⁿ-*, *-iiⁿ-* and *-uuⁿ-* (Morgenstierne, Traces, 1973, 64) is well established by a number of convincing equations: *zṛə* < **zṛdaiah*, *γrə* < **garaiah*; *lewá* < **daiuiiah*, *trə* < **ptṛ(u)iiah*, *wālá* < **uadiiah*, *wāšá* "grass" < **uāstriiah*, *psə* < **pasuu(ah)*, *tə* "you" < **tuuam*, *wāzá* "fathom" < **ui-bāzuuah*; secondarily: **suxtah* > **suu* > *sə*; note also *°duxtā* > *°luu(a)?* > *°lə* in *tərlə* "brother's daughter".

The masc. stems in *-ə* are thus from **-aiah*, *-iiah* or *-uuah*. It is more difficult to account for the feminines in *-á* (*čāṛá*, etc.). OIran. **-iā* regularly gave *-ia* (see 4.2.1.7.1) and OIran. **-ī* (*-ii*) becomes Ø with palatalization (**māstī* > *myās/šṭ*). It is however possible that proto-Pš. *-əy* < **-ii* developed variously depending upon the stress: unstressed > Ø but stressed > *-á*. Thus *čāṛá* may be from **k(a)rtíi* (Ved. *kṛtí* masc./fem.), but *bən* < **hapáθnii* (Ved. *sapátnī*). A few adjectives end in *-á*; of these *ṣ̌ə* "good" is regularly from **sraiah* (or **srīrah*), *bidá* (*widə́*) "asleep" seems to have the ending of the 3 sing. masc. past tense; *terá* "sharp" < **taigriiah?*, *sperá* "muddy (colour)" < **spaiθriiah?*.

The obl. sing. in *-á* of nouns and adjectives may be from **-áhia*. The adj. ending may also be compared with the Khot. obl. sing. *-ye* of adjectives from a proto-form containing *-ai/ii-*. Differences in stress would explain the lack of ending in the obl. sing. of barytone nouns and adjectives.

There is no obvious explanation of the *-á* of *pinjá* "5", *owá* "7" and *at(á)* "8". It may have spread from *nə[h]* (see 4.2.1.7.1 OIran. *-auam*) and/or the compound numerals, where *-á-* serves to avoid awkward consonant clusters.

The dir. plur. ending *-á* must have originated in old *i-* and *ī*-stems (plur. **-aiah* and *-iiah*) and from there spread to the nom. plur. of adjectives (cf. *yar–γrə* < **gariš–garaiah*; *spor–spārá* < **aspabārah/*bāriš–aspabāraiah*, cf. OP. *uša-bārim*). If this is correct, then the fem. obl. sing./dir. plur. *-e* must be from **-aiāh* rather than **-aiah* (as Morgenstierne 1942, 97). Attempts to derive *-á* from **-āh* are unconvincing: **-ah* was regularly lost and there is strong evidence for **-āh* > *-a*, cf. the nouns in nom. *-a*, obl. and plur. *-ānə́* < **-āh*, **-āna/iiah*). The equation **āpah* = *obə́* is misleading; *obə́* is probably from **āpiiah* (*ī*-stem, cf. OP. *āpi-šīm*, *āpiyā*).

The verbal nouns in *-á* (e.g. *tlə* "going"), grammatically plur., may be from old action nouns in *-ti*, or perhaps from infinitives in *-taiai*, assimilated to the grammatical number of the infinitives in *-əl*.

The 3 sing. past tense ending may have originated in participles in **-ītah/-ūtah* > **-ii/-uu* > **-ə(i/u)* (cf. 4.2.1.7.4).

4.2.1.7.3 Consonants

OIran. *k*:

k- > *k-* (**karnah* > *kuṇ*, **karnā* > *kaṇá* "deaf").
kⁱ > *č* (**kaniiā* > *čina* "well"; **karkiiā* > *čirga* "hen").
-k- > *-g-* (**sikatā* > *šəga* "sand").
-ákah > *-ay*.
-ákā/-ákī/-íkā > *-áy*; *-akā/-akī/-íkā* > *-əy* > *-ī*; SE > *-ye* and *-gi* (archaic or innovation?; **grīuikā* > Waz. *grəwyē* "collar bone", Kāk. *grəwgi* [Morgenstierne 1930, 157]).

OIran. *g*:

> *γ* (**gaušah* > *γwaž*; **āgatah* > *rā-γl-əl* "to come"; **dargāt* > *lāṛya* "formerly").
-gn- > *-n-* ([**nagnah* >] **magnah* > **bagnah* "naked" > Waṇ. *wīn*).

OIran. *x*: remains initially (**xaṷdah* > *xol* "helmet, hat").

-xt- > *-w-* (**suxta-* > *sw-* "to burn"). - > *-y-* (**wăxta-* > *way-ál* "to say").

-xn- > *-n-* (**yaxnā* > *yína* "liver").

xṷ > *x(w)* (**xṷaiṗaθiiah* > *xpəl* "own"; **xṷasurah* > Waz. *xwsar* > *sxar* "father-in-law"; **xṷasru[ṷa/i]kā* > *xwāše* "mother-in-law", Waz. *xwōšye*, Waṇ. *xwāšk*, *xwāšč*; **āxṷasrukah* > *āxšay* "brother-in-law", Waz. *woxšai* "wife's brother/sister's husband"; **paxṷah* > *pox* "cooked, ripe").

-xš- > *-š-*/SE *-s-* (**baxšiṷ* > *weš* "division"; **daṷxšaia-* > *lwaš-* "to milk", Waz. *lwēš-*, Kāk. *lwas-*, Waṇ. *lwes-*).

-xšn- > *-ṇ-* (**raṷxšnah* > *ruṇ* "bright").

OIran. *č*:

č- > *c-* (**čaθwārah* > *calor* "4"; **čaθṷar[a]-dasam* > *cwărlas* [early dissimilation; or < **čaθru-dasam*?, Morgenstierne]; **čiš* + *-akah* > *cok* "who").

čā > *č-* (**čahiia* > *čā* "whom, whose"; **čaθrī-ṷīsatiṷ*? > Waṇ. *čerwust*).

-č- > *-j-* (**raṷčah* > *rwaj* "day").

čiṷ- > *š-* (already proto-Iran. in **čiṷaṷa-* > *šw-əl* "to become").

-čiṷ- > *-ž-* (**maṇuščiṷ-akah*? > *meẓay* "ant", Waṇ. *meržai*).

OIran. *ǰ*:

ǰ- > *ž*, Waṇ. and sporadically elsewhere *z* (**ǰiṷā-* > *žəy* "hair; bow-string", Waṇ. *zia* "bow-string"; **ǰiṷantah* > **ǰiṷṷand*? > *žwand* "life"; *j-əm* "go" rather than < **ǰā-* [Khot. *jsā-*], in view of the dial. forms in *c-* perhaps < **ati-ǰā-*[6]).

OIran. *t*:

t- > *t-* (**taftah* > *tod* "warm").

-t- > *-l-*, Waṇ. ∅ (**ata* > *la* "to" [Sogd. *'t*; different from *la* "from, with"; note also *ta*, sandhi form of same or < NP. *tā*? Pš. *lara* "to" may be connected with *la* or with Chor. *-δ'r*]; **duṷitam* > *bəl*; **pitáram* > *plār* "father", Waṇ. *piyār*; **ṷīsatiṷ* > *šəl* "20", Waṇ. *šwī*, but *-ṷīsatī* > *-wišt*, Waṇ. *-wust*). - > **-w-*/∅/*-y-* (**satam* + *-a* > *-sawa*, Waṇ. *-sū*, *-sow*; see 4.2.1.7.4). - > *d-* in pronouns (< OIran. **aiṭa-*; note *dale*, etc. < **aiṭada*; the poss. particle *da* is probably from the pron.[7], cf. Waṇ. *ya*, *eyē* with Pš. *haya*) and encl. *de* < **taiṭ* "you"; a case of early dissimilation: **dītah* > **δīd* > *lid(á)* "saw".

OIran. *d*:

> *l* (**dasa* > *las* "10"; **dā-* > Waṇ. *l-* "to give"; **hada* > *la* "from, with").

dr- > *dr-*? (**draṷgah* > Waṇ. *dərway*, *but* Pš *darāg*, Afr., Waz. *dalərwēy* from Pers.? [EVP 22]).

dṷ- > *w-* (**dṷara-* > *war* "door"; **dṷaiaθrā*? > *wéra*, *yera* "fear"). - > *lw-* (**dṷana-dṷasta* > *lwan- lwast-əl* "to scatter, winnow"). - > *dw-* (**duṷā* > *dwa* "2"; cf. *dwawišt* "22"). - > *b-* (**dṷitah* > *bəl*).

The Pš. forms are bewildering. Assuming developments based on phonetic differences of the initials in Av., *dun-*, *db-*, *ṯb-*, *b-*, poses serious problems since no single stage of Avestan has the exact distribution of these initial needed to explain the Pashto forms and no other East Iranian languages seem to reflect such differences. (Only *lwan-* could be from **duṷán-*: Av. *duuąnaiia-*, not *dwa* and *war*: Av. *dunа*, *dunar-*.) If **δβ* > *lw* is the genuine

[6] Morgenstierne comparing other East Iranian languages preferred deriving *tlal*, *j-/c-* from **taxta-*, **tača-*, EVP 80.

[7] Morgenstierne, IIFL I, 318 suggests derivation from **tarah* comparing Orm. *ta(r)*.

development, then **ðβar* > **βar* > *war* may be explained by dissimilation of *ð–r*; *dwa* by dissimilation of **ðβ-* > **dβ-* > *dw-* or alternatively as a loan (from Pers.?); and proto-Pashto **βiδ* and **βiδi̯ā* > *bəl, byā* by dissimilation of **β–δ* > **b–δ* before the change/loss of the dental (cf. **δīδ* > *lid-*). If the development of *du̯-* > **b-* > **β-* > *w-* is the genuine Pashto development, agreeing with Sanglīčī-Iškāšmī and Parāčī-Ormuṛī, which have *v-* (< *β*) and *b-*, then *dwa* must be a loan; *bəl, byā* must again be explained by dissimilation; and we may explain **du̯ān-* > *lwan-* by assuming assimilation and dissimilation of **du̯an-* > **nwan-* > *lwan-* (see 4.2.1.7.6); alternately *lwan-* could have been influenced by the Pamir languages, where **du̯-* > *lv-* is normal.

OIran. *ϑ*: initially and intervocalically > *l* (**ϑai̯u̯ar-* > *lewar* "husband's brother" [Oss. *teu/tīu*, Abaev, Slovar' III, 297[8]], **ā-ϑāu̯ai̯a-* > *alwoy-əl* "to scorch, roast"; **čaϑu̯ārah* > *calor* "4").

-ϑn- > *-n-* (**hapaϑnii̯* > *bən* "co-wife").

ϑr- > *dr-* (**ϑrāi̯ah* > *dre* "3").

-ϑr- > *-r-* (**apuϑrah* > *bur* "sonless").

OIran. *n*: remains initially and intervocalically (**nāma* > *num*; **du̯ăna-* > *lwan-*).

-nk- > *-g-* (**hankārai̯a-* > *gor-* "to see").

-nx- > *-γ-*? (**han-xāza-*? > Waṇ. *γoz-, γot* "drink" [Khot. *khāś- khaṣṭa-* "eat, drink"]).

-ng- > *-g-*, Waṇ. *-ng-* (**angupai̯nā* [MacKenzie] > *gabina* "honey", Waz. *gemna*, Waṇ. *angĩn*; **anguštā* > *guta*, Afr. *gwəta*, Waṇ. *nugutī, nogút, nguṭá*).

-nč- > *-nj-* (**namāčah* > **namānǰ* > *nmunj* "prayer").

-nč'- > *-nǰ'-* (**kanīnii̯* > **k'anīn* > **nčən* > *nǰən* "girl").

-nt- > *-d-*, Waṇ. *-nd-* (**gantumah* > Waṇ. *γandəm* "wheat" [Pš. *γanəm*]; **han-tāpakah* > *dobay* "summer").

-nd- > *-(n)d-* (**ā-gunda-* > *āγund-* "to dress"; **handāma-* > Afr. *adīm* "thigh").

-nϑr- > *-r-* (**tanϑrah* > *tor* "dark").

OIran. *p*:

p- > *p-* (**pitárah* > *plār* "father").

-p- > *-b* (**xu̯āpah* > *xob* "sleep").

OIran. *b*:

> *w* (**abi*? > *wa* "to"; **abračii̯* > *w(a)ryaj* "cloud"; **abrāϑrā* > *wrāra* "woman who has lost her brother").

OIran. *f*:

OIran. initial *f-* was rare. In Pashto *f* is found only in loanwords and even there it tends to be replaced by *p*. Note however **f-* > *xw-* (**fai̯akă-* > *xway*, Waz. *xway[yč]* "wooden shovel"; cf. Afr. *dəxwadăr* < Pers. *daf'adār* [Morgenstierne 1931, 292[2] = 178[2]]. Could *nwar* by some trick of Pashto metathesis and/or nasalisation be from **farnah* > **n°far(n)*?).

-f- > *-w-* (**nāfah* > *nū* "navel" [also *nūm* < **nāmfa-*], Waṇ. *now, nov*; **śkăfa-* > *čəw-* "to split").

-fn- > *-n-* (**hantafnā* > *duna* "bonfire").

-ft- > *-w-* (**hafta* > *owá* "7"; **haftātii̯* > *awyá* "70"; **taftah*? > *tāw*, Waz. *to* "heat, glare"). – > *-wd-*, Waṇ. *-w-* (**hufta*[a] > *udá* "asleep"; **pari-huftah*? > Waṇ. *praw* "asleep"; **naftah* > **nau̯(n)d* > *nund, lund*, Waṇ. *now* "wet", **naftā* > **nau̯(n)da* > *nanda*, Waṇ. *nawa*, cf. also Waz. *nāwā* "moisture"; **taftah* > *tod*, Waṇ. *taw*, **taftā* > *tawda*, Waṇ. *tawā* "warm").

[a] Doubted by Morgenstierne, EVP 40, but confirmed by Kabuli Persian *(h)ēwar* quoted ibid.

If the regular development was **-aβah* > **-aβd* > *-awl-ow*, but **-aβā* > **-awda* > *-awda*, Waṇ. *-awal-owa*, then Pš. *-d* must be analogical (**tow-tawda* > *tod-tawda*, etc.). But maybe the inconsistencies are due to dialect mixture (MacKenzie).

fr > *wr* (**fragāmakah* > *waryumay* "male kid"; **fruš̄iiah* ? > *wuṛžə* "beestings"; **bafrā* > *wāwra* "snow").

fš- > *wž-* (**fšančiy* > *wžənj, žmanj* "comb").

OIran. *m*: remains initially and intervocalically (**mātara-* > *mor*; **nāma* > *num*).

-mp- > **-b-* (**hampānikā-*? > *banáy* "leather bag, bellows" [EVP²]).

OIran. *r*:

> *r* (**raupačiy* > *rebaj* "broom").

-rt- > *-ṛ-* (**ārtiy* > *oṛá* "flour"; *bṛtah* > *waṛ* "carried"; **zartah* > *zoṛ*, **zartā* > *zaṛá* "old").

-rθ-? > *-ṛ-* (**hamarθah* > *moṛ* "satisfied, rich" [OIA. *samartha*]).

-rd- > *-ṛ-* (**arda-xah* > *aṛax* "side"; **zṛdaiah* > *zṛə* "heart"; but secondary *-rd-* > *-rl-*: **upasāradakáh* > *psarlay* "spring").

-rn- > *-ṇ-* (**arnă-* > *aṇ-əl* "to grind"; **parnā* > *pāṇa* "feather"; the derivation of *waṛáy* (plur.) "wool" directly < **uarna/ikā-* seems doubtful; perhaps *waṛayin* and *waṛən* "woolly" have *ṛ-n* dissimilated from *ṇ-n*, extended to *waṛay*).

-rs- > *-ṣṭ-* (**pṛsa-* > *puṣṭ-edəl* "to ask"; **tarsa-* > *taṣṭ-edəl* "to flee", Waz. pres. *tašt-*; **čaθu(a)rsiy* > *calweṣṭ*, but Waṇ. *calwa/ust* in analogy with *-wust* "20").

-rš- > *-ṛž-*, Waṇ. *-rž-* (**ṛšah* > *yaž* "bear", Waṇ. *yirž*; **taršakah* > *táṛžay* "thirsty", Waṇ. *tərža*).

-ršt- > *-ṣṭ*, Waṇ. *-rš-* (**dṛšta-* > *leṣ-əl* "to load, migrate", Waṇ. *lərš-edəl*, cf. **darzaia-* > *leṛžd-əl* "migrate"; **mṛšta-* > *muṣ-əl* "to rub", Waṇ. *murš-*; **tṛšta-* > Waz. *taš-əl* "to flee", Waṇ. *tərš-*, contrast **tarsa-* > Waz. *tašt-ā*).

-rz- > *-ṛžd-* (**bṛzah* > *(w)užd* "long"; **hṛza-* > *ṛžd-* "put"; **bṛzani-* > *(sar-)weṛžd* "pillow"; **rarzaia-* > *reṛžd-edəl* "tremble"; **darzaia-* > *leṛžd-əl*, cf. **dṛšta-* > *leṣ-əl*; **fraiṛz(ak)ah* ? > *ruṛžd*, Waz. *rīždai* "habituated, tame").

-rž- > *-ṛž-*, Waṇ. *-rž-* (**bṛžnā* > *uža*, Waṇ. *murža* "garlic" [Sogd. *'βzn-*, W.B. Henning, BSOAS 11, 1943–46, 470²; MacKenzie]; **xuaržah* > *xož* (*xwaža*) "sweet", Waṇ. *xurž*, *xwaržə* [the forms point to **xuarš-*, as also Orm. *xwaṣ*ʳ (Morgenstierne 1948, 79 = 92), but it is difficult to separate the word from Av. *x'arəzišta-* etc.; *xwaṣ* "happy, content" is no doubt from Pers.]).

On groups with *r* see Morgenstierne 1940; 1948; 1950 and below under OIran. *s*.

OIran. u-:

> *w*, SE partly > *b* (**uṛsiiah* > *w(y)eṣtá*, Acakzay *byeṣtə*).

Pš. *w* is often lost before *o* (cf. *cal[w]or* [Waz. *cal(w)ōr-calweṣṭ*], *xož* [Waz. *xōž*] - *xwāžə*, *s[w]or* [Waz. *swōr*] - *swārə*). Note *spor* beside *swor* < **aspabārah*.

OIran. *i-*:

> *y-* (**iaxnā* > *yina* "liver"; **iaumah* > *yun* "gait").

OIran. *s*: remains (unless palatalized or otherwise influenced, see below) initially, intervocalically and in *sk, sp, st* (**satam* > *səl* "100"; **dasa* > *las*; **uskah* > *hask* "tall"; **spakah* > *spay* "dog"; **aspā* > *aspa* "mare"; **stārakah* > *storay* "star").

si, siy, sⁱ > *š*, SE often *s* (**masiiatarah* > *məšar* "older", Waṇ. *muser*; **kasiiatarah* > *kəšar* "younger", Waṇ. *keser*; **tusiiah* > *təš* "empty", Waṇ. *təs*; **sikatā* > *šəga* "sand", but

Ghilz., Kāk., Waṇ. *səga*; **sikurnah* > *šḵuṇ* "porcupine", Waṇ. *sungūṇ*; **u̯īsátiu̯* > Kāk. *wšəl*, **šel* > *šəl* "20"; **-u̯īsatiu̯* > *-wīšt*, Waṇ. *-wust*; **asti* > *šta* "there is").

-sč- > *-c-* (**asčiu̯* + *a* > *aca* "thigh bone").

-st- > *-s*, SE *-st* in final (**dastah* > *lās* "hand"; **pančāsatam* > *panjos* "50", Kāk. *pinzōst*).

-str- > *-ṣ̌-* (**bastrah* > *wāṣ̌* "rope [made from hair and wool]" [EVP 87]; **gau̯-astrā*? > *ɣwaṣ̌a* "meat" [Pers. *gōšt*; Ved. *atra* for **attra*]; **pastrā* > *pṣ̌a* "foot" [Av. *pat-* "to go" daēvic, cf. Av. *vastra-* "mouth" daēvic?]).

sn- > *n-* (**snušā* + *or* > *nẓ̌or* "daughter-in-law").

sr-, *str-* > *ṣ̌-* (**srāu̯aia-* > *ṣ̌ow-əl* "to show"; **sraunii̯* + *a* > *ṣ̌na* "hip bone"; **sritah* > *ṣ̌əl* "ladder"; **srū-karah* > *ṣ̌kar* "horn", Waṇ. *šukar*; **strī-čii̯* + *a* > *ṣ̌ǰa*; cf. also *ṣ̌on*, *ṣ̌uwan* "olive tree", Kāk. *srawan*, Waṇ. *šwawan*).

OIran. *š*:

š-, see above *čii̯*, *xš́*, *fš́*.

-š- > *-ẓ̌-* (**ašā* > *oẓ̌a* "shoulder", Waṇ. *wuža*).

šk > *č* (**dau̯šikā*? > *leča* "upper arm"; **huškah* > *wuč* "dry"; **pṛškā* [Khot. *pulskā-*] > *pəča* "sheep's dung", Waṇ. *puka* [this may be the genuine Waṇ. representative of *šk*, as suggested by Elfenbein 1967, 595; but note also Waṇ. *či* = Pš. *kṣ̌e* < **kašaiā*]; **riškā* > *riča* "nit"; **škāfa-* *škafta-* > *čəw-* *čāwd-əl* "to split").

-št- > *-t-* (**kaštah*, *kaštā* > *kot*, *katá* "looked"; **u̯ištah* > *wit* "open").

-štr- > *-ṣ̌-* (*uštrah* > *uṣ̌* "camel").

-š-d- (> **-žd-*) > *-ṛ-* (**[x]šu̯aš-dasa* > *šp̄āṛas* "16", Waṇ. *šp̄āṛos*).

-šn- > *-n/ṇ-* (**pāšna-tā* > *punda* "heel"; **rau̯xšnah* > *ruṇ*).

šu̯- > *šp-* (**[x]šu̯aš-* > *špaẓ̌*).

Pers. *š* in loanwords > *ṣ̌* (*ẓ̌*) (*peṣ̌*, *duṣ̌mán*, *ṣ̌ār*).

OIran. *z*: remains initially, intervolically and in *-zd-* (**zāmah* > *zum* "son-in-law"; **azdā* > *zda* "known").

zi(i̯), *iz* > *ž* (**zimakah/ziiamakah* > *žámay* "winter"; **īziiakah* > *žay* "leather bag"; **(h)izu̯ā* > *žəba*; **pati-zāna-* > *pežan-*).

-zn- > *-n-* (**parāzna-* > *parun* "yesterday").

zr > *ẓ̌* (**upa-zrādakā* > *bẓ̌alga* "scream" [if genuine; only in Raverty, Dictionary²: MacKenzie]; *zru̯ā* > *ẓ̌o*, exclamatory particle used in oaths; Morgenstierne 1948, 77 = 90).

-zu̯- > *-zb-*? (**(h)izu̯ā* > *žəba* "tongue").

OIran. *ž*:

-žd- > *-ṛ-* (**dužd̄āh* > Waṇ. *ləṛ*, *leṛə*, *laṛ-* "to ache"; **gau̯-iždah*[9]? > *ɣwəṛ* "fat" [*ɣwəṛi* "ghee", Waz. *yṓṛī*], Waṇ. *ɣwaṛ*).

OIran. *h*: is lost (**hazahrah* > *zər*; **sahakah* > *soy* "hare"). Morgenstierne adduced several words as evidence for the survival of an intrusive nasal before OIran. *h* as in Av. *ŋh*; the most important were: the ending *-una* < **-ānha*, *nwar* "sun" (*nmar*, *lmar*, Waz. *lmēr* [but Afr. *myēr*, Waṇ. *mīr* < **miθrah*]) "sun" < **nhu̯ar* (post-vocalic sandhi form); *cun-su* "400", Waṇ. *cūṇ-sū* < **čatanrah*, Av. *cataŋrō* (1930, 163). However, the evidence is strong that *-āha-* gave Pš. *-ā-* > *-o-*, the other examples of **hu̯-* > **nhu̯-* are all doubtful [on *nwar* < **farnah*? see above 4.2.1.7.3 on OIran. **f*] and *n* is absent in *zər* "1000" < **hazahra*, Av. *hazaŋra*. Possibly *cun-su* and *pun-su* "500" are the result of mutual analogy and Waṇ. *-ṇ-* < *-rn-*, with *-r-* from *ter-su*.

[9] Av. *īžā-* "refreshing drink", often in combination with *āzūti-* "fat". I. Gershevitch apud EVP[1] suggests derivation < **ɣwarn* < **rwayn* < **rau̯gan-*.

4.2.1.7.4 OIran. intervocalic *t*

Examples of intervocalic *t* > *l* are clear (see above 4.2.1.7.3 OIran. *t*). Instances of *t* > *w* (*y*, ∅): **satam* + (numerative) *-a* > *sawa* "hundred(s)" (beside *-su*); **duitiiāt* > *byā* "again", beside *bəl* "other"; **aniiatarah* > **niawar* > *nor* "other" [*kəšar*, *məšar* "younger, elder" < **kasiiatarah* and **masiiatarah* developed differently due to stress: **kaištar* and then loss of the *t* in the group *-štr-*; the contraction must have taken place after OIran. *-št-* > Pš. *-t-* and *-štr-* > *-ṣ-*]; **ati* > *aw?*; *būtah* > *wə*; **katămah* > **kaum* > *kum* "which"; *navatii* > *nəwé* "90". Similarly OIran. *-xt-* developed > ∅ (*y/w*) [see 4.2.1.7.3], while the development of *-ft-* like that of *-t-* is twofold: > *aw/ow* or *-awd-*, Waṇ. only *-aw/ow* (see 4.2.1.7.3 on OIran. *f*). The inconsistencies in the development of intervocalic *t* and *-xt-*, *-ft-* still remain to be explained; most probably they are due to early dialect mixture or interference from languages with which Pashto came in contact on the way to its present location (see 4.2.1.1.5.1).

The development of intervocalic *t* is important for the understanding of the declension of OIran. *r*-stems in Pashto, the forms of the 3 sing. masc. past tense and perfect < past participles in *-tah* and *-takah*: **būtah* > *wə*; **šutakah* > *šəway*) and of several verbal endings containing *t* in OIran.

4.2.1.7.4.1 *r*-stems

The attested forms all bear witness to extensive analogical levelling but the exact developments are hard to determine. The following is a tentative outline. There are no remnants of the old nom. forms (**pitā*, **mātā*; unless *tər-lə* contains **duxtă*, see 4.2.1.7.2). The dir. sing. forms may be derived from the acc. (or voc.) sing.: **pitar(am)* > **piδár*, **brātar(am)* > **βrāuar* > *wror*; **mātar(am)* > early **mādar* became **māuar* > *mor* or **māndar* (in accordance with a general rule of nasalization [Morgenstierne], see 4.2.1.7.7), which was replaced in the dir. case function by *mor* by analogy with *xor*, etc. It is much less probable that the dir. form was replaced by the obl. form *mōr* < **māθrah*. The obl. sing. forms can be derived from the OIran. obl. stems. In many of the nouns the dir. and obl. sing. forms came to coincide (**βrāuar* and **βrār* > *wror*, **xuahar* and **xuahr* > **xor*, **δuuar* and **δūr* > *lūr*). The dir. plur. of **mātarah* > early *mādar* became **māndar* and then **mānd'ē* with the ending *-'ē* of other fem. nouns. A different explanation of the dir. sing. was proposed by N. Sims-Williams (BSOAS 42, 1979, 346), who, comparing the Sogd. plur. forms in *-īštā*, which he derives from sing. nom. forms of the OIA. *vṛkīḥ* type, suggests that Pš. *mor* might be from **māθrīš*.

We may posit for proto-Pashto the following paradigms (dir./obl. sing., dir. plur.; the obl. plur. is remade after the dir. plur.) of OIran. **pitar-*/**piθr-*, **brātar-*/**brāθr-*, **mātar-*/**māθr-*, **iātar-*/**iāθr-* ("husband's brother's wife"), **xuahar-*/**xuahr-*, **duxtar-*/*duxθr-*:

proto-Pashto			Pashto		W'aṇeci	
sing. dir.	obl.	plur. dir.	sing.	plur. dir.	sing.	plur. dir.
**piδar*	**pīr*	**piδar*	*plār*	*plărəna*	*piyār*	
**βrāuar*	**βrār*	**βrāuar*	*wror*	*wrəṇa*	*wror*	*wrūṇa*
**mădar*	**mār*	**mădar*	*mor*	*maynde*	*mor*	*mendī, myende*
**iāuar*	**iār*	**iāuar*	*yor*	*yuṇe*	*yor*	*yendī, yande*
**xuār*	**xuār*	**xuār*	*xor*	*xwaynde*	*xor, xūr*	*xyendī, xūrī*
**δuuar*	**δūr*	**δuuar*	*lur*	*luṇe*	*lūr*	*lūṇī*

The two masc. nouns received the common plur. ending *-ɯa*; *wrɯṇa* being contracted from **wrōrūna* or telescoped from *wror* and **wrūna*. This form influenced **lūrē*, producing *lṵṇe* in Pashto and Waṇeci. The regular form **xōrē* remained in Waṇeci, but was changed by analogy with **mānd^{i}ē* in Pashto. The regular form **i̯ōrē* was remade by analogy with *wrɯṇa* and *lṵṇe* in Pashto, but with **mānd^{i}ē* in Waṇeci. Another explanation for the forms with *-ṇ-* was proposed by Morgenstierne, who compared them with OIA. gen. plur. in *-tr̥ṇām*, but there is no evidence for such forms in OIran. and the attested forms have obviously influenced each other. Other nouns of relationship were remodelled after the above, note e.g. **pṭɻɯi̯ā* "aunt" and **snušā* "daughter-in-law": *tror–traynde* and *nẓor–nẓaynde*.

4.2.1.7.4.2 Endings

The 3 sing. ending *-i* is probably < **-(ai̯)ati*, which became *-ī*, not *-əy*, through the palatalizing effect of the final **-i* (cf. in Waṇ. **-amii̯*, *-antii̯* > *-ī*, *-īn*). The 2 plur. ending *-əy* may be < **-ai̯ata* (cf. nominal *-əy* < **-a/ikā* ?) and *-āst* from athematic forms (cf. **[a]sta* > *yāst* "you are"); the dialect form in *-ō* (e.g. Waz., Waṇ.; but Afr. *-ā*) is puzzling. Waz., Waṇ. *-ō* is usually from *-ā*, but Afr. *-ā* < **-ō* (> Waz. *ō*, *ē*, and Waṇ. *ū*). Derivation of *-əy* and *-ō* from **-ai̯aḍɯam* or **-aḍɯam* (Morgenstierne 1942, 105) is unlikely since *d* (or *ð*) is not lost in Pashto.

4.2.1.7.4.3 The past tense

The OIran. participle in *-tá-*, according as the ending was preceded by a consonant or a vowel, gave diverging results in Pashto. The forms in vowel + *-ta-* resulted in Pš. *-á*, *-(ə)la*, etc., while those in consonant + *-ta-* developed according to general rules of Pashto historical phonology (e.g. **kr̥tah* > *kər*, **t(a)rštah* > *təṣ*). The ending *-á* may be from *-əɯ* < **-ītah* or **-ūtah* and E *-ó* conceivably < OIran. **-atah*. Outside of the nom. sing., **-Vta^{s}* > *-əl-*. Plur. *-əl* may be < **-ála* with the ending of the adjectives but with loss of unstressed *-ə* (cf. 4.2.1.7.2). Many forms were later analogically remodelled.

4.2.1.7.5 Metathesis

Some typical examples: **xɯasurah* > Waz. *xwsar* > *sxar* "father-in-law"; Pers. *gowz*, *gūz* "walnut" > *uyz*; **ʃančii̯* > Waṇ. *wženj* > **ẓwanj* > *ẓmanj* "comb" > *gmanz* > **mangz* > *mangaz* (Morgenstierne 1942, 89); **namadkā* > **nmalga* > *mālga*, *°lmanga* "salt"; **raɯdanah* > *lwarən* "madder".

4.2.1.7.6 Assimilation and dissimilation

Assimilation: *n–l* > *n–n* in *nunas* < *nulas* "19"; *w–n* > *m–n*: **abidānā* > *wlūna* (> Waz. *wlīna*) > *mluna* "bridle"; **bɻžnā* > **wuržna* > *uẓa*, Waṇ. *murža* "garlic". Note also the assimilation preventing intervocalic voicing in syncopated initial syllables: **kašai̯ā* > *kše* "on"; **xšapā* > *špa* "night"; **sikurnah* > *škuṇ* "porcupine".

Dissimilation: *n–m* > *l–m*: *num-edəl* > Ghilz. *lim-edəl* "to name"; *nwar* > *nmar* > *lmar* "sun"; *nmunj* > Waz. *lmīnz* "prayer"); *n–n* > *l–n*, *n–l*: **kanīnii̯* > *nǰən* > *nǰəl* "girl (who has become betrothed)", plur. **kanii̯ānah* + *e* > *nǰune*; **nafṭā* > *nanda* > *landa* "wet"; *m–m* > *w–m*: **mai̯θmā* > *melma* > Waz. (Afr.) *wulma* "guest".

4.2.1.7.7 Nasalization

In many dialects a vowel following *n*, *m* in closed syllable was sometimes nasalized and the nasalization then realized as prenasalisation of the consonant following the nasalized

vowel (*NṼC* > *NVNC*). The nasalization has even affected Arabo-Pers. loans: **nāfah* > **nāmfah* > *num* [beside *nu* < **nāf-*]; **naftā* > **naw(n)da* > *nanda* "wet", Waz. *nawmda*, but Waṇ. *nawa*; **namāčah* > *nmūnj* "prayer", Waz. *lmīnz*; **māta-* > *mainde*; **ahmāxiia̯m* [*-ii̯am* from **maziia̯m*?] > **(a)mā(n)š* > *munž*, but Waṇ. *moš*; *zmək(a)* > *mzək* > *mənzək* "earth"; Arab.-Pers. *majles* > Waṇ. *manǰales*. Note also **sikunah* > *škuṇ*, Waṇ. *sungūṇ*.

4.2.1.7.8 Palatalization

Palatalization has played an important part in Pš. historical phonology, affecting both vowels and consonants, though the exact workings of the palatalization cannot yet be ascertained with any degree of certainty for lack of systematic investigation and evaluation of the dialect data. Nevertheless, some general features of the developments are clear: Palatalization was caused by OIran. final syllables of the type *-a/ii̯V(ka)-* > proto-Pashto *-ə̯i(ay)* or by an internal short unstressed *i* (e.g. **zaritah* > **z^{i}ard* > *zyaṛ*). The distribution of the various palatalization patterns according to dialect group, phonetic structure of the words (including possible influence of accent) and the possible effect of paradigmatic alternation can at present not be determined. The following is a preliminary systematization of the available material; see e.g. EVP 45f. 60f.; Elfenbein 1984, 57. The palatalization may affect one or several sounds, theoretically taking one of the following positions (C = one or more consonants): 1a) CVC*a*^{x} (no effect), 1b) CVC^{i}*a*^{x}; 2a) CV^{i}C*a*^{x}; 2b) CV^{i}C^{i}*a*^{x}; 3a) C^{i}VC*a*^{x}; 3b) C^{i}VC^{i}*a*^{x}; 3c) C^{i}V^{i}C*a*^{x}; 3d) C^{i}V^{i}C^{i}*a*^{x}. Examples:

1a) **abrii̯ah* > *orə* "cloud, haze", but **abrači̯* > *w(a)ryaj* "cloud"; **madii̯ā* > *mlā* "back", but Bangash *malyá*; **padii̯ā* > *pla* "tendon". **θrisii̯* (analogy with **u̯īsatii̯*?) > *derš* "30". This development appears to be more common in the SE dialects than elsewhere, cf. Kāk. *-āž-*, Waṇ. *-až-* and *-ež-* for Pš. *-eẓ-*; **mā(n)d-^{i}ē* > Kāk. *mande*; **mártii̯ah* > *māṛ^{i}ə̯i* > Waṇ. *māṛə*).

1b) **māsii̯akah* > **mās^{i}ay* > *māšay* "mosquito"; **mā(n)d^{i}ē* > Waz. *māndye*; **nazdii̯āh* > **naz^{i}de* > *nižḍé* "near".

2a) **baxšii̯ah* > **βá^{i}š* > *weš*; **čaθu̯arsii̯* > **čaδwa^{i}š^{r}* > *calweṣt*; **maii̯šii̯* > **mē^{i}ž* > *me(y)ž*; **martii̯ah* > **ma^{i}rdə̯i* > *meṛə́*; **māsii̯akah* > **mā^{i}say* > Waṇ. *mesa*; **mā^{i}(n)de* > *mainde, mende*; **u̯rsii̯ah* > **wə^{i}š^{r}ə̯i* > *weṣtə́*, Waṇ. *ūšt*; **xšu̯aštii̯* > **šu̯a^{i}tə̯i* > *špetə́*.

2b) **-u̯īsatii̯* > **-wə^{i}s^{i}t* > *-wišt*.

3a) **brāθr(u̯)ii̯ah* > **βr^{i}ārə* > Waz. *wəryārə* "nephew", standard *wrārə*, but **brāθr(u̯)ii̯ā* > **βrā^{i}ra* > *wrera*, Waz. *wrera* "niece"; **θrā̆ia-dasam* > **dr^{i}á-δas* > *dyǎrlas* "13"; **gau̯-dānačii̯* + *a* > Waz. *ywulianza*, standard *yulánja*, Waṇ. *ywalānz*; **kanīnii̯* > **k^{i}nīn* > **čnən* > *nǰən*; **kartii̯* > **k^{i}árdə̯i* > *čāṛə́*; **maii̯šii̯* > **m^{i}ēž* > Waz. *myež* "sheep", standard *me(y)ž*; **māsii̯akah* > **m^{i}āsay* > Waz. *myāsay*, standard *māšay*; **māstii̯* > **m^{i}āst* > *myāst*, but also *myāšt*; **m^{i}ā(n)de* > *myānde*; **raθii̯* > **ryāl* (*lyār, lār*); **du̯i/bi-sáradii̯akah* [MacKenzie] > **bs^{i}arδay* > *pšarlay* "yearling kid" (> *šarlay*); **zaritah* > *zyaṛ, žyaṛ*, Waṇ. *žaṛ*.

3b) **māstii̯* > **m^{i}ās^{i}tə* > *myāšt*; **rāsii̯ā* > *ryāša* "heap", Kāk. *riyāsa*, Waṇ. *rāšə* (OIA. *rāśi*).

3c) **du̯i/bi-sáradii̯akah* > **bs^{i}a^{i}rδay* > Kāk. *pšerlay*, Waṇ. *pšerla*; **m^{i}ā^{i}(n)de* > Waṇ. *m(y)ende*; **u̯īsátii̯* > **ws^{i}a^{i}də*? > Waṇ. *wšī*.

3d) **māstii̯* > **m^{i}ā^{i}s^{i}t* > Afr. (plur.) *myēštē* [EVP 49].

4.2.1.7.9 Stress

Stress has played an important part in Pš. historical phonology, since different stress in closely related words has in many instances led to widely diverging phonetical development,

e.g.: **ɣīśátiį* > *(w)šəl* (*Waṇ. šwī*) but in compounds: *-ɣīsatiį* > *-wīšt* (Waṇ. *-wust*). In several articles Morgenstierne contended that the variable Pš. accent may have been inherited from Indo-Iranian and Indo-European. He emphasized the existence of oxytone vs. barytone nouns and verbs, the accentual pattern of Pashto agreeing at times closely with that of the corresponding OIA. words, cf.:

barytone	oxytone
áspa (áśvā), wána (vánā),	*špa (kṣapā́), ričá (likṣá),*
tór-a (támisrā), wúč-a (śúṣkā);	*paxá (pakvá́), sra (śukrá́).*

4.2.1.8 *Bibliography*

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